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ABSTRACT

Presenters at this conference on teaching at-risk youth focused on the following topics: (1) effective teaching approaches to reach different types of learners; (2) improving the school-as-workplace through collaboration among and support of teachers; (3) successful teaching practice for at-risk students; (4) the cultural orientation of black youth and its influence on their school achievement; and (5) a blueprint for action by higher education to promote the success of disadvantaged youth. Also presented were a teacher's first hand view of a culturally diverse urban high school; a research-based proposal, recognizing teaching as a deeply intellectual activity, for strengthening teacher induction programs; and the mission of the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards--and how concern for at-risk youth is part of that mission. Closely-linked themes were reiterated throughout: the need to redesign and restructure the nineteenth century model of schooling now relied upon; and the need for real respect for cultural and ethnic diversity in the curriculum and social organization of schools. (JD)

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TEACHING

AT-RISK YOUTH

Conference Proceedings

May 1988

Baltimore, Maryland

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The Council of Chief State School Officers (CCSSO) is a nationwide nonprofit organization of the 57 public officials who head departments of public education in every state, the District of Columbia, the Department of Defense Dependent Schools, and five extra-state jurisdictions. CCSSO seeks its members' consensus on major education issues and expresses their views to civic and professional organizations, to federal agencies, to Congress, and the public. Through its structure of standing and special committees, the Council responds to a broad range of concerns about education and provides leadership on major education issues.

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School/College Collaboration: Teaching At-Risk Youth

Conference Proceedings

Council of Chief State School Officers

May 8-11, 1988

Baltimore, Maryland

Funded by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation

Host: The Johns Hopkins University

Edited by
Rebecca Yount and Nancy Magurn

Table of Contents

vii **Foreword**
Gordon M. Ambach, Executive Director, Council of Chief State School Officers

ix **Introduction**
Rebecca Yount, Director, Mellon Foundation School/College Collaboration Project, Council of Chief State School Officers (1983-1988)

1 **Remarks and Welcome**
Ralph Fessler, Professor and Director, Division of Education, School of Continuing Studies, The Johns Hopkins University

4 **Opening Address: Some New Insights into the Attrition of Teachers**
Susan Rosenholtz, Associate Professor, College of Education, University of Illinois

11 **Remarks and Introduction**
Steven Muller, President, The Johns Hopkins University

12 **Keynote Address: When a Teacher Says, "I quit"**
Theodore Sizer, Chairman, Education Department, Brown University

18 **What Will Keep the Teachers Teaching?**
Patrick Welsh, English Teacher, T. C. Williams High School, Alexandria, Virginia

25 **An Overview of the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards**
James Kelly, President, National Board for Professional Teaching Standards

31 **At-Risk Students: The Economic Implications, the Moral Challenge**
Mary Hatwood Futrell, President, National Education Assocation

37 **Minority Youth and School Sucesss**
John U. Ogbu, Professor, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley

62 **Achieving Equity of Opportunity in Higher Education: A Continuing Nagging Problem for America**
Tomás A. Arciniega, President, California State College, Bakersfield

69 **Promoting African-American Student Achievement**
Asa G. Hilliard III, Professor, Department of Education, Georgia State University

80 **Toward Building a Professional Culture in Schools**
Myrna Cooper, Director, New York City Teacher Centers Consortium

89 **Lecture from the Lunchroom: How Schools Must Effectively Respond to At-Risk Youth**
Ward J. Ghory, Assistant Principal, Walnut Hills High School, Cincinnati, Ohio

Table of Contents

99 **Distance Learning: The Oklahoma Model**
John Folks, Superintendent of Public Instruction, Oklahoma
Sandy Garrett, Director of Rural Education, Oklahoma State Department of Education

104 **Teacher Induction Programs: Analysis, Critique, and Proposal**
Gary A. Griffin, Dean, College of Education, University of Illinois at Chicago

112 **Paving the Road to Hell: How Our Assumptions Increase the Risks for At-Risk Youth**
Albert Shanker, President, American Federation of Teachers

120 **Teaching and Professionalism: A Cautionary Perspective**
Gary Sykes, Assistant Professor of Educational Administration, Michigan State University

132 **Concluding Panel**
Gordon M. Ambach, Executive Director, Council of Chief State School Officers
James E. Martin, President, Auburn University
Lynn O. Simons, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Wyoming
Richard C. Kunkel, Executive Director, National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education

137 *Appendix A*: Mellon State Projects

144 *Appendix B*: List of Conference Participants

151 *Appendix C*: Acknowledgments

FOREWORD

Gordon M. Ambach
Executive Director
Council of Chief State School Officers

The Council of Chief State School Officers is pleased to present this volume of speeches and papers on educating at-risk youth. "School/College Collaboration: Teaching At-Risk Youth," was conceived by the Council as a state-of-the-art colloquium, bringing together the nation's finest thinkers to share their expertise and insight. This gathering, held at the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland in May 1988, provided chief state school officers, college and university presidents, and others the opportunity to take an in-depth, intensive look at the most pressing concerns in our schools.

Many aspects of the schooling of at-risk youth were addressed: effective teaching approaches to reach different types of learners; improving the school-as-workplace through collaboration among and support of teachers; successful teaching practices for at-risk students; a look at the cultural orientation of black youth and its influence on their school achievement; and a blueprint for action by higher education to promote the success of the disadvantaged. Also presented were a teacher's first hand view of a culturally diverse urban high school; a research-based proposal, recognizing teaching as a deeply intellectual activity, for strengthening teacher induction programs; and the mission of the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards—and how concern for at-risk youth is part of that mission.

Closely-linked themes that were reiterated throughout: the need for meaningful research and evaluation on schooling; the need to redesign and restructure the nineteenth century model of schooling upon which we now rely—however unsettling this process may be; and real respect for cultural and ethnic diversity in the curriculum and social organization of schools.

Speakers were asked, as well, to consider the role of school-college collaboration in this process of teaching at-risk youth. In their presentations, they demonstrated how increased collaboration between schools and colleges would bolster the research process; improve teacher training, especially the preservice teaching experiences; and on a multitude of levels, strengthen the effort to advance education of at-risk youth.

Also animating the conference were calls for *united* action by educators in the urgent mission to meet the needs of today's and tomorrow's schoolchildren. There was recognition of creative thinking and the determination that all students can succeed as potent forces both in the classroom and at the policymaking level.

The conference was made possible by a grant from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, which since 1981 has fostered school-college collaborative activities at the Council of Chief State School Officers. Through the sustained and visionary support of the Foundation, the Council has been able to nurture the collaborative process in which elementary-secondary education and colleges and universities work together on what they have come to perceive as a shared mission in education for all. Specifically, the Council has been able to provide more than $1.2 million for 39 incentive grants and 42 implementation grants to state departments of education in four award cycles since 1983. (For a complete listing of the 81 state-based Mellon projects, see Appendix A of this volume.)

I would like to thank the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation for its generous support of CCSSO school-college collaboration initiatives from 1981 to 1989, and, in particular, Claire List, who was our program officer for much of this time.

The Johns Hopkins University graciously hosted and assisted in the planning and

arrangements for this conference. I extend deepest appreciation to Steven Muller, President of the University, Ralph Fessler, Professor and Director, Division of Education, School of Continuing Studies, and Shirley Belz, Division of Education, for making this conference possible. I would also like to thank Rebecca Yount, Mellon Project Director at the Council of Chief State School Officers from 1983-1988, for her leadership and skill in bringing about this stimulating conference and, after her departure from the Council, for her continuing work with Nancy Magurn in the compilation and editing of these conference proceedings.

We present this volume, therefore, in order to share important knowledge, ideas, and insight with all those who must become involved and continue to be involved in the work ahead.

Introduction

Rebecca Yount
Director, Mellon School/College Collaboration Project (1983-1988)
Council of Chief State School Officers

In her comments at the Johns Hopkins conference, Susan Rosenholtz [Associate Professor, College of Education, University of Illinois] stated that teachers in successful schools are like "Geiger counters calibrated for preciousness—their commitment beating stronger and faster in the rarified atmosphere of their workplace."

At the end of the fifth year of the Council of Chief State School Officers' project on school/college collaboration, we were forced to confront a number of pressing issues in education. What works, and what doesn't in schools? And what keeps teachers in certain schools and what conditions cause other schools to experience high teacher attrition?

The Hopkins conference was designed to zero in on both successful and unsuccessful school practices that address the teaching of youth at risk. Coordinate with this, we focused on how collaboration did, and sometimes did not, advance the quality of teaching in our nation's schools as well as what we would be forced to confront in the future. Teacher retention, teacher attrition, minority student success and failure, the dropout surge, licensure of teachers, inservice and preservice training, and induction were among the many topics addressed at the conference.

In 1983, when the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation awarded the Council its first major grant to "enhance and facilitate working relationships between elementary/secondary and postsecondary education," none of us could have predicted what kind of collaboratives our state projects would come up with. The only thing we knew for certain was that schools and higher education simply could no longer accept the status quo and had to discontinue being mere ships passing in the night. In an era of rising education reform, benign mutual neglect would no longer do. The Mellon project enabled the Council to award grants to the state departments of education on a competitive basis to support projects which proved to be catalytic in bridging this distance between the institutions.[1]

As these projects evolved, the collaboratives began to explore many facets of improving teaching, but particularly the instruction of at-risk youth. Increasingly, teacher attrition loomed as a dominant issue, especially in light of studies which substantiated the increase in the attrition rate.

Consequently, our state projects began to concentrate on developing and expanding effective practices in addressing the prevailing problems of our nation's youth and those teachers who are often discouraged and left powerless in the workplace. Through partnerships between colleges and universities, schools, local school districts, and state departments of education, the projects tackled these seemingly insurmountable tasks.

Emerging from these efforts over the past six years have been improved teaching practices directed toward those students most likely to drop out of school; as well, better teacher training was explored, resulting in vastly improved inservice and induction models.

The Hopkins conference reinforced the concept of "it can be done" against a backdrop of ever-growing concerns about American education. We all know that it is a difficult path. But we cannot walk it alone. Without effective partnerships, we will simply continue to accept the status quo. Albert Shanker [President, American Federation of Teachers] commented at the conference, "I believe that you can't bring change about unless people believe the angel of death is at the door." We may not be quite at that point, but working partnerships will keep us ever

vigilant of the condition of education and serve as an antidote to inertia.

It is one thing to acknowledge our problems, but we fail if we only despair. These proceedings prove that there are success stories being lived every day in our schools, and we have a responsibility to disseminate information about these practices.

I am personally grateful to the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation for taking the risk of funding state-based school/college collaboration projects to help our teachers and our children. We have been enabled and empowered to be part of the solution, and not just sit passively waiting for the angel of death.

1. Since 1983, the Council has awarded 39 planning grants to as many states and a total of 42 state grants of approximately $30,000 each to implement and expand collaboratives focusing on advancing the quality of teaching.

Remarks and Welcome

Ralph Fessler
Professor and Director
Division of Education, School of Continuing Studies
The Johns Hopkins University

It is my pleasure to welcome you to Baltimore and to The Johns Hopkins University. You have arrived at the perfect time, for we have just finished a week of rain and the spring has finally arrived in full bloom. I hope you will have an opportunity to walk the campus and see typical spring scenes, such as students cramming for exams and frustrated faculty searching for parking places.

I would like to take just a few minutes to share with you some of the exciting activities in education that are occurring at Johns Hopkins. Although Hopkins does not have a school of education, education at Hopkins has a long and active history and continues to be very vital today. Education-related programs are primarily located in four areas of the University. Keeping with the Hopkins tradition of decentralization, these program areas are quite independent of each other.

Division of Education

First, let me share with you the activities of the Division of Education, which I serve as the Division Director. The Division of Education, which is housed in the School of Continuing Studies, is the only unit at Hopkins charged with offering degrees and programs in professional education. We are a graduate division with master's and doctoral programs in selected areas. Major areas of emphasis include special education, counseling, and computer applications for educators. We have fourteen full-time faculty and a number of other individuals with joint and part-time appointments. While we have a number of specialized training and research activities, let me share two special projects.

The Center for Technology in Human Disabilities

This Center, which was established in June 1986, is co-sponsored by Hopkins and the Maryland State Department of Education. The purpose of the Center is to support the use of computers and related technology to address the needs of individuals with physical, sensory, emotional, or mental impairments. Under the direction of its director, Dr. Marion Panyan, activities include research, training of master's and doctoral level technology-special education specialists; dissemination of information to parents, educators, and other human service providers; and direct service to individuals with disabilities. One current project is a training program to provide physically handicapped adults with the skills to become entry level computer programmers. This program is unique because it uses technology both as the focus for employment and as a means to bypass specific disabilities. Participants use adaptive devices to access the computer as they learn programming.

The Center also houses a federally-funded research contract that is designing a model for integration of computers into the instructional program of learning disabled elementary school children. It has also established an assessment process for determining how to match computers and adaptive devices to the specific needs of individuals with disabilities. Activities at the Center have involved a number of collaborative efforts with school systems and universities throughout the country as well as with China, Latin America, and Israel.

As I mentioned earlier, the Center is a collaborative effort between the Maryland State Department of Education and The Johns Hopkins

University. It should also be noted that David Hornbeck played a key role in the establishment of the Center and has served as chairman of its governing board during its first two years of operation.

Hopkins/Dunbar Project

This program is one of several major collaborative projects we have with the Baltimore City Public Schools. Dunbar High School is located one block from the Johns Hopkins Hospital/Medical School complex in downtown Baltimore. Under the direction of Dr. Warren Hayman in our Division, we have worked with Dunbar to establish it as a health professions magnet school. The program is designed to offer an enriched curriculum and attract talented minority students into the health professions. Activities include a mentor program between students in the medical institutions and Dunbar youngsters; practicum opportunities at the Hospital and the Schools of Medicine, Nursing, and Hygiene and Public Health; and a summer enrichment program here at the Homewood campus in laboratory courses, thinking skills, and English. Also linked to the Dunbar program is our Master of Arts in Teaching in secondary education, with our graduate students engaged in a variety of practicum and internship activities at Dunbar.

While I have highlighted these two programs, various additional projects and programs in the Division of Education address our deep involvement and commitment to working with area schools.

Center for the Social Organization of Schools

The Center for the Social Organization of Schools is a second major education-related unit at Hopkins. Over the past two decades, the Center has been one of the leading education research centers in the country. Under the leadership of Jim McPartland and Ed McDill, it has been a major contributor to research on school integration and organization. In recent years, Bob Slavin's work on cooperative learning has had a major impact on classroom instruction and learning environments. In 1986, the Center received federal funding as the national center for research on effective elementary and middle schools.

In addition to its designation as a national research center, during the past year this Center has made a major commitment to the Baltimore City Public Schools. It has recently been funded by a local foundation to establish the Baltimore Public Education Institute, which will work with city school officials to develop and implement new instructional programs. Bob Slavin will oversee the Institute's efforts for elementary education. A key project already underway, Project Success for All, is an intensive reading intervention program in the first through third grades. Early results are dramatic, with substantial increases in reading performances documented.

Institute for Policy Studies

A third unit at Hopkins with a major commitment to education-related issues is the Institute for Policy Studies. The Institute for Policy Studies at Hopkins is designed to bring the intellectual resources and academic facilities of Hopkins to bear on the solution of public problems in Baltimore, the region, and the nation. The Institute conducts research and engages in public education and citizenship training to address complex urban and other public problems. Schools have been a primary focus of the Institute's activities during the past few years, with a particular emphasis on the problems of urban education. During the next few months the Institute will be hosting a series of public lectures on urban education reform, with guest speakers including Ernest Boyer, Bernard Gifford, and Henry Levin.

Center for the Advancement of Academically Talented Youth

Finally, let me mention the Center for the Advancement of Academically Talented Youth. This center has grown from the work of Professor Julian Stanley. In 1972, Professor Stanley conducted the first talent search for academically precocious youth. The talent search consisted of administering the SAT exam to bright 12-year-olds to determine how they would perform on this test that was designed for high school seniors. The Center now administers the talent search on a national level and coordinates its activities with other universities that have adopted similar models (e.g., Duke, Northwestern, Arizona State University).

Youngsters who score at the 50th percentile of college-bound high school seniors before the age of 13 are invited to participate in summer programs that offer college level courses in the sciences, mathematics, writing, and the humanities. The program, which is currently directed by Dr. William Durden, now serves children in its summer programs here at Hopkins and at several other college campuses in the East and in California.

The brief highlights that I have shared with you represent only a surface glance at the many activities in education at Johns Hopkins University. If you are interested in learning more about our programs or meeting any of our faculty, I would be pleased to make the arrangements. On behalf of The Johns Hopkins University, I am most pleased that your organization has chosen Hopkins as the site for your conference.

Opening Address:

Some New Insights into the Attrition of Teachers

Susan Rosenholtz
Associate Professor, College of Education
University of Illinois

I am delighted to be invited once again to this auspicious group. This time I came prepared with new data from a large-scale study of elementary schools I conducted over the last three years. It is now in press and will be published by Longman in January of 1989. I have been asked here to speak about teacher attrition. But, for policymakers in schools, the problem of teacher attrition is but the tip of the iceberg. Instead, we need a more expansive view of the problem—one that includes teacher burnout, teacher alienation, and teacher absenteeism—all precursors to teacher attrition. And, more importantly, sentiments and behaviors that carry unintended and negative consequences for student learning.

Moreover, the very same factors that explain teacher defection from the work force also predict their burnout, their alienation, and their absenteeism from school—in short, their loss of commitment to the profession. Thus, we will look at the problem as a continuum, with high teacher commitment at one end, and teachers' loss of commitment at the other.

To understand what school factors—what alterable factors—affect teacher commitment, we must first understand the school as a workplace, and that is what I hope to convey to you tonight. In a sort of whirlwind panorama, I will try to expose to view teachers' varied understandings, expectations, and cognitions of school life, and their behaviors that then follow suit. We will come to see just how good schools can be at their best and how bad they can be at their worst. Schools where teachers share common goals and schools more like organized anarchies. Schools where colleagues help one another and schools of professional isolation. Schools where teachers and students learn and grow and schools where most of them stagnate. Schools where teachers believe in themselves and schools of contagious uncertainty. Schools where teachers spark enthusiasm and hope, and schools where they only despair.

To account for these differences between elementary schools and to explain their various effects is the core of my purpose here. I might also add that the research that I will be presenting includes quantitative and qualitative data, and is now being replicated at the high school level by some of my doctoral students.

We begin with the multitude of ways teachers think about teaching: relating a story, enacting a resolution, concocting an excuse, or dreaming a dream. Through their workaday lives—their observations and their interactions with others—teachers learn habits of understanding, methods of reasoning, ranges of feeling, and chains of explanation. In other words, we come to learn that something is a fact—all of us do—in interactive situations where we see that others regard it as fact. Reality, in short, is socially constructed.

The Culture of Successful Schools

In successful schools, principals and teachers agreed on the definition of teaching and their instructional goals occupied a place of high significance. These schools have a style, an attitude, a symbol-minded characterization. In their out-of-classroom work, principals and teachers culled and socialized the brightest novices they could find, with all the wholeness and solidarity of group harmony. They remained attentive to instructional goals, to evaluative criteria that gauged their success, and to

schoolwide standards for student conduct that enabled teachers to teach and students to learn.

Teachers partook in shared school goals because their thoughts were not merely their own, but inhabited by a multitude of supportive, collegial voices. Their sense of community and their own identity led them to persist unassailably in their goals of student learning. Teachers spoke boldly, nobly, building hurrahs of ideas for classroom instruction, and creating for their students' beginnings instead of endings. Student mastery of basic skills was the common factor that united them—the force that welded all the separate autonomous teachers into one common voice.

In one question of our study we asked teachers, "What do you usually talk about with your colleagues?" If our thinking is correct, the conversations reflect the common-sense view of teachers and, alternately, the teachers form common-sense views through their workaday lives. We should then find that teachers from varied school cultures talk about entirely different things. Indeed, in successful schools, over half the teachers we interviewed talked about curriculum and instructional improvement. For example, one teacher said, "We talk about the new ideas someone has tried—how they worked or didn't work. We make an effort to do something different on a regular basis. One idea that works for one teacher may not work for another. We try to figure out why that's so." Said a second teacher, "We talk about the progress of the students and any problems they are having; getting advice from each other, especially from teachers who have had them in the past. If there were some instructional technique that worked better for them, we tell each other about it."

Unsuccessful Schools

By contrast, in unsuccessful schools, few teachers seemed attached to anything or anybody, and seemed more concerned with their own identity and self-esteem than a sense of shared community. For all of those here who are university professors and presidents, I am sure you can recognize some of these characteristics. Here teachers learned about the nature of their work randomly—not deliberately—by following their individual instincts. For want of common purpose, there was little substantive dialogue among colleagues. Without shared governance in the school—between teachers and principals, particularly in managing student conduct—the absolute number of students who claimed teachers' attention was greater and their experiences left bitter traces and tarnished hopes as their time and energy to teach evaporated into thin air. Colleagues talked of frustration, failure, tedium—though not in their own person. To protect themselves from feeling professionally inadequate, they managed to transfer those attributes to students about whom they complained, while they themselves remained complacent and aloof.

While swapping disconsolate stories, teachers bought in easily to a sense of futility, without feeling remorse over the work they initially had earnestly rendered. With lost ambitions, teachers went underground while staying topside to do little more than required.

In unsuccessful schools teachers responded to our question like this: "We discuss a child that one of us is having problems with—discipline problems usually. It helps to be able to discuss it with someone else. It may not give you an answer to the problem..." Question: "Does it help you to get support from other teachers?" Answer: "Yes. A lot of times we get sympathy from each other if we have a bad class." Said a second teacher, "As far as education is concerned, I don't know. Usually what it comes down to is that when you get women together they chat. I don't think that's unusual." Question: "What kinds of things do you talk about?" Answer: "Nothing special. Stuff like where you bought your sweater; what you did over the weekend. I don't think anybody really does talk academics that much. We all want a break from the education atmosphere. When you have to work so hard all day, you need a chance to cool your heels. We never talk about lesson plans or objectives, if that's what you mean."

Dreams of possibility were not the domain of unsuccessful workplaces. Inertia overcame teachers' adventurous impulses and listlessness devoted itself to well-trodden classroom paths of instruction. In their ordered daily routines teachers' self-reliance was not a civic sin—an act of selfishness against the school community. It was rather a moral imperative. And because no one wished to challenge the school norms of self-reliance in times of classroom crisis, teachers skirted the edges of catastrophe all alone,

somehow managing to lead themselves to a safe haven.

To illustrate norms of self-reliance, listen to the thoughts of some teachers in unsuccessful schools: "Teachers see it as their job to do what they're doing and yours to do what you're doing." "I think everyone has their own ideas of what they should do." "I'm very hesitant about the idea of going to another teacher to [provide] help. That suggestion makes me feel very uncomfortable, like I'm stepping on their toes." When we asked if there were teacher leaders in their schools and, if so, what they did, they were identified as those who were politically active in their union or those who empathized with colleagues' myriad problems.

Principals of unsuccessful schools—unsure of their professional knowledge and concerned with their own self-esteem—did teachers and students an enormous disservice. In protecting their turf, even the smallest attempts by teachers to solve school or classroom problems met distance, intimidation, or defeat. Some veteran teachers explained, "The principal likes to have control of everything. He wants to say, 'Yes, this will be done' and 'No, this will not be done. I think it's a fear of a lack of control. If teachers are making decisions about students, then he's not in control. He's insecure enough that he needs to have complete control. He doesn't want teachers to be making decisions that he thinks he should be making." Said another teacher, "His viewpoint is too authoritarian. He has to be above the teachers in all instances. He won't allow input into solving a problem. He doesn't value input from teachers. He's mainly dictatorial. He will try to figure out the problem himself and then he will tell us what to do."

It was here teachers learned the unassailable lesson that they must shoulder classroom burdens by themselves. Indeed, their scattered classroom motifs suggested where the bounds of self-reliance were drawn. No teacher could impose upon another. Consider these comments by teachers from unsuccessful schools: "You can only do your own job; you can't do everyone else's." "I'm responsible for running my classroom; I expect no help and so I'm not responsible to give any."

Diametrically, in the choreography of successful schools, norms of self-reliance were regarded as selfish infractions against the school community. With teaching defined as an inherently difficult undertaking, one that challenged even the best of teachers, many minds worked better than the few. Here requests for and offers of advice and assistance were moral imperatives and colleagues seldom acted without forethought or deliberate calculation. Teacher leaders in these schools were identified as those who reached out with encouragement to others, with professional knowledge to solve classroom problems, and with enthusiasm for learning new things about teaching. With regard to their collaboration, teachers from successful schools commented, "You just have to ask other teachers if you want to share." "People who enjoy teaching are more open to criticisms and suggestions." "If a person is secure in her teaching, she won't be obsessed with hoarding ideas and keeping things to herself." "I think that most teachers do share, unless they have a personality problem."

Collaborative vs. Isolated School Settings

In successful schools we also encountered principals who set norms of collaboration between teachers by conveying that need for assistance was no threat to their self-esteem. Rather it was the natural thing to do. Illustrative are these teachers' remarks to the question, "Is your principal a good problem solver?" First, from a second-year teacher, "Yes, he never makes you feel like you're inadequate. For me, he just made me feel like there was a lot to learn and he was there to see that I learned just as well as I could." A veteran teacher said, "Yes, I think he is. He can be critical of you, but not make you feel bad about it. He's not hesitant to help me. He's critical in areas where I'm having problems, but he doesn't make me feel or look bad. I feel like I can go to him no matter how small the problem."

The freedom to disclose teaching problems in collaborative settings strikingly counterbalances the compulsion to conceal them in isolated settings. Teachers in isolated settings were quick to acknowledge in response to the same question that their principal was a scolding presence—a direct threat to their sense of self-worth. One teacher said, "No. He always makes me fear him. He watches everything you do. If you make a mistake, he will always call it back to you. You can't take children to him because he always makes you feel like you are there because you

can't handle the problem yourself." Another said, "No. She's mean. She comes into my room and reprimands me in front of my students. She does that to everyone. The principal says teachers won't listen unless they are watched. It's gotten to the point where I can't handle it anymore."

The implication of shared goals, principals' helpfulness, and teachers' collaboration led us then to teachers' learning opportunities—a vital component of their commitment. in unsuccessful schools there was a numbing sameness, an undeviating routine lurking in teachers' work. The same questions, the same answers, no shared or common purpose, and little helpful leadership by principals who instead assume the posture of a burrowing animal, unable or unwilling to confront school or classroom problems.

Norms of self-reliance encouraged the view that learning to teach was as easy and quick to master as some sort of user-friendly computer. One either grasped it or not. To explore teachers' perceptions of their learning, we asked them: "How long does it take to learn to teach?" Those in unsuccessful schools offered a terminal view of their learning. Here teachers estimated that learning to teach would require an average of only 2.3 years. A teacher with nine years' experience, followed by a 12-year veteran, explained: "I learned by my third year. How to handle kids so they pay attention, what you're going to teach them and how, takes a little time. You also need to be familiar with the textbooks you use. Without them you'd be lost." "I'd say two years. The first year you're so nervous and everything is so new, you're trying to shuffle through the new paperwork, all the new books, feeling your way. The second year you start to relax and you really start to teach. I think that after that second year you have the confidence that you know how to teach. The first year you make so many mistakes."

Since one either grasped teaching or not, no one, not even principals, laid claim to help struggling teachers to improve. Colleagues talked about these teachers collusively, but comments of sympathy, comfort, and help found no utterance here. One teacher said, "In this school there are two in particular who aren't doing well. All the other teachers talk about how they're not doing well. They are not really given any help. One of them quit and went to another system. There was really no advice given to them to improve." A second said, "Maybe they get helped by someone, but the majority of teachers don't really like having a bad teacher in the school. You know, one bad apple can spoil the barrel. There's a lot of resentment toward them. They're discussed a lot."

Helping Teachers to Teach

By contrast, in successful schools, where great teachers were thought to be made rather than born, colleagues and principals responded to troubled teachers with appropriate instructional help. One teacher said, "Teachers always pitch in. We cover for the teacher when she has behavior problems and we sort of take control of her class when we go on field trips. And, of course, we try to be helpful in the faculty room by giving suggestions." Question: "Do your suggestions help the teacher improve?" Answer: "Sometimes yes, and sometimes no." Question: "Can you give me an example?" Answer: "Well, there was a beginning teacher with trouble handling her class. They were so loud, you could hear them down the hall. One of the teachers came in and took over the class to show her what could be done. This first-year teacher improved a lot after that." Question: "What about tenured teachers when they're having trouble?" Answer: "We try. The principal encourages us to try, but he does the most to help them. He spends a lot of time in their classrooms." And another teacher said, "Most of us pitch in to help, including our principal. We offer advice, materials, and any other kind of assistance the teacher may need. We don't hesitate at all to do these things. We want every teacher to teach as well as she can. That makes for a better school and far fewer problems."

In successful schools there was an abundant spirit of continuous improvement going on schoolwide, because no one ever stopped learning to teach. In response to our question about the length of time needed to learn to teach, teachers thought that their own learning was cumulative and developmental and that learning to teach was a life-long pursuit. For example, they said, "You never quit learning." "I think you learn every year." "It's a continous process." Teachers held a sustained rather than a terminal view of their learning, they explained, because meeting the challenge of diverse student needs required an ever-expanding portfolio of new ideas, skills, and classroom strategies. Indeed,

clumped together in a critical mass, like uranium fuel rods in a reactor, teachers generated new professional knowledge, the ensuing chain reaction of which led to greater student mastery of basic skills.

Principals' useful and frequent evaluations were also a powerful mechanism for delivering on the promise of school improvement, as they also served for guides for future work. Principals orchestrated collaborative relations between more and less successful teachers, explicitly acknowledging that improvement was possible, necessary, and expected. Teachers saw that working with others reduced their uncertainties and increased their classroom success. For instance, "He seems to recognize people's strengths and weaknesses and is great at pulling teachers together to help one another. If he can't help you, he'll admit it. He's not afraid to admit when he doesn't know something. But he knows most of the time which teacher can solve the problem." A second teacher: "The principal puts stronger and weaker teachers together to team teach. Often that is conducive to sharing ideas. New teachers are automatically given team teachers in our school. I think it helps them to get started. I know that if I hadn't had a team teacher to help me out, I would have had a lot harder time."

In exploring the uncertainties of teaching, we found both standardized and unstandardized cultures. In standardized school cultures, all teachers had were their observations and habits of complaint that seemed to yoke one's misery to another's in resigned sadness. With lost deportment and effort in their classroom viewed as the fruit of parental depravity, and with gossip by teachers about parents and children running rampant, suspicion gave way to punitive and standardized classroom practices. Teachers' codes of honor became private, based on something other than instruction. They consoled themselves with the thought that somehow, at some level, someone else shouldered blame for each and every classroom failure.

For example, one teacher said, "Students have an attitude problem. They really don't seem to care. It seems like each year it becomes more and more difficult." Question: "Why do you think that is?" Answer: "Well, we teachers discussed this and we think probably it's the home situation. We think they have less discipline at home, less parent involvement." Another teacher said, "Parents cause me the most problems. There seems to be more apathy than in previous years." Question: "What have you done to deal with this situation?" Answer: "We, the first grade teachers, have sat down as a group in order to try and figure out what to do about it. So far all we have decided is that parents' apathy is reflected in students' attitudes. It shows there isn't much direction at home."

Teachers here seemed worse than rickety—ready to topple—teetering over an abyss. Yet each punitive and standardized step was a measure of their school's failure to protect, to nurture its teachers with a body of professional knowledge, to actively engage its parents and citizenry, to set standards for orderly student conduct—in short, to make teachers feel more certain and committed to student learning and their own professional growth. For instance, when we asked teachers, "What would you do if you had a particularly difficult problem with a student?," this is what the majority of uncertain teachers said: "I keep kids after school all the time to punish them. You're not supposed to do that without parents' approval, but I do it anyway because I think that problem children have problem parents. And if the parents don't support me, how am I ever going to be able to control their kids? There's got to be some punishment for bad behavior."

A second teacher said, "Actually, I can't say that I've had any real support from the administration. I have a couple of extremely difficult kids this year. For example, one of them flushed a library book down the toilet. I was in a big hurry at that time. I didn't have time to take out and deal with that particular child, so I sent him directly to the principal's office. He was totally ineffective in this situation. That's why I think teachers in general don't consult our principal very often. Since we have no counselor and the principal doesn't help, most teachers try to solve their problems on their own." The possibility of only limited, if any, administrative support is exactly how teachers and students became casualties in the skirmish for classroom control.

One veteran from an unsuccessful school put it this way: "The principal goes so far as to publicly recommend that teachers handle their own discipline problems. Also the principal

commends those teachers who don't bring their discipline problem to her. I don't think that is the best way to handle those situations. I think there's a lot of abuse of children just because teachers get so frustrated. I know teachers who swat kids and put their jobs on the line. But I do think that they feel as if it's their only recourse because they can't consult with the principal. Oftentimes we beg for other ways to deal with problems. We really wanted to have an in-school detention room, but our proposal never got anywhere. No one in the administration wants to take responsibility. No one is willing to pull the bull by its horns." That principals overlooked parent and student problems had dramatic implications for teachers' dealings with problem students. Nothing could be done except punishment. In this way principals' uncertainty defined school culture, and the actors engaged in its drama, no matter how disingenuous or wounded they became.

For teachers who survived this ordeal, the only recourse was coercive control and punitive treatment of students. Indeed, the indifferent, unapologetic sarcasm of a veteran from an unsuccessful school testifies to the abuse children suffer at the hands of teachers who receive no administrative support. She said, "I usually try to dismiss the student from the room. I continue with whatever I was doing so that when I confront them I don't slug them. One time I didn't do that and I immediately paddled the child. The mother called and said that the kid had bruises. I didn't believe it, but I was mad. If there was ever a time that I was mad enough to hurt a child, it was that time. Usually, though, I try to shame kids rather than use physical punishment. Most kids just act up for attention anyhow. They don't give a darn about what kind of punishment is used with them."

Question: "Do you ever consult the principal about these problems?" Answer: "If I can't solve the problem, my principal certainly can't either." The opposite was true of successful schools with their nonstandardized professional cultures. With greater professional knowledge and the belief that students could learn, teachers searched for reasons and ways to help, not excuses for their failures. They found what they were looking for in the sage counsel of principals and colleagues and in the cooperation, trust, and support of parents. With nonstandardized and humanistic treatment of students came personal promises fulfilled—the sweet promise of helping children learn, the glittering promise of societal contribution, the warm promise of freedom from failure, from faithlessness in themselves and their students.

When we asked teachers, "What would you do if you had a particularly difficult problem with a student?," this is what teachers from successful schools said (and this was from a second-year teacher): "There was an incident that happened last year. I really blew up at one of my kids because he repeatedly refused to finish his work. Well, he got fairly abusive. The principal and his teacher from the year before and I had a meeting and they went over the progress he had made last year. Then I understood why he wasn't working for me. I didn't supervise his work too closely and the work I was giving him was too hard. They gave me some ideas about how to help him, like having another boy in the class work alongside him and not giving him assignments unless he really understood what he was supposed to do. It was rocky at first, but things did get better. I had to consult the principal and other teachers a whole lot less this year."

Next, we observed that without learning opportunities, task autonomy, and certainty about their professional knowledge, teachers burned out their bright but brief candles of commitment in a string of broken promises. They lost faith in their talents and values. They no longer cared enough to devote their energies to doing good work. They became so crushed and despairing that they couldn't recognize the consequences of abandoning their students. It seemed an appealing idea under these circumstances to simply let go, though it was heavy to carry the strain of destructive skepticism in their nature.

For example, one veteran said: "A lot of teachers would rather let it slide than go through the hassle. I think this is what's happening. They don't resist; they just give in. Sometimes I think that we take things that we shouldn't. You feel sometimes like you're beating your head against the wall. You try and you're pushing, and you get criticized for it. You just don't have the enthusiasm you once had. You think, 'I'm taking all this abuse.' There are times when maybe I've not been as patient as I should have been with students; I realize this. It's like a cycle. You seem

to get wound tighter and tighter. Between you and me, I started working on my master's and I quit because I thought, 'there's no future in it.' I've made the comment time and time again that if I thought I could get out of teaching and into something else, I would. I've heard that from a lot of teachers. Sometimes you can put up with certain things, but when things begin to overwhelm you, everything seems just to drag you down. You feel like you're swamped to start with. I've discouraged any child who's ever come to talk to me from going into teaching. I tell them there's no future in it, and there isn't."

Even in this current era of political tribulation, successful schools remained as uplifting as iron fragments to a giant magnet. Here teachers experienced the edifying sensation of hopes fulfilled and portending dreams as they invented new school futures. They were like Geiger counters calibrated for preciousness—their commitment beating stronger and faster in the rarified atmosphere of their workplace. It was one of the charms of successful teachers that, unlike the unsuccessful, they were not fatalistic people. Teachers from successful schools held an ideology that was the reverse of fatalism. Everything was possible. The demands of their work brought forth virtues such as ingenuity, loyalty, community, mutual support, and concern that seemed in increasingly short supply within unsuccessful schools.

Listen to the remarks of a second-year teacher from a successful, collaborative school: "I was having some difficulty last year and everyone pitched in and helped me. My principal took lots of time with me explaining things and made sure I got a chance to talk to other teachers." Question: "Did you mainly get help with the curriculum?" Answer: "No, it wasn't so much with teaching materials, although everyone was really generous with those. It was more with teaching problems—how to handle children who didn't know their multiplication tables, how to involve this child or that child, what to do when kids didn't do their homework. Last year it seemed that all I did was pump these teachers for ideas. But they seemed to enjoy helping me." Question: "In what ways did they show that they enjoyed that?" Answer: "They would ask, 'Did you try this and that?' And 'What happened?' They took a real interest in me. I felt like they really wanted me to be successful."

Oppressed teachers from unsuccessful schools looked through the other end of the telescope. They were interested in freedom "from"; they thought little of freedom "to." The range of teacher "unfreedoms" was wide, subtle, and often alarming. Boredom, punitiveness, and self-defensiveness were unfreedoms. Feeling helpless and unable to cope was a state of unfreedom. Yet even those teachers who wished to be out of their present circumstances proved cagey survivors. When unsuccessful and in a state of unfreedom, they contrived their own covert liberty—created their own inner freedom. As a form of freedom from distressing work, teachers absented themselves in frequent, one-day breaks and, like throwing bricks through a window, it was much to the detriment of their school as a healthy, educative place. Children with teachers absent did not learn. As the ultimate manifestation of lost commitment, of course, teachers defected from the workplace.

The central lesson to be drawn from this research and other research is that the culture of the school renders meaning to the nature of teaching. Whatever impact education policy has on school success compared to other factors, such as socioeconomic status, it is significantly affected by the quality of the linkages between policy and the intended beneficiaries of that policy, namely teachers and students. Thus we see that the question of what teaching is, how it is performed and regarded, and how it is changed cannot be divorced from the school culture in which it occurs.

Remarks and Introduction

Steven Muller
President
The Johns Hopkins University

Good morning, ladies and gentlemen. It is my great pleasure to welcome you to The Johns Hopkins University and to say how pleased we are that the Council of Chief State School Officers is holding its conference on school/college collaboration at this institution. As you may know, The Johns Hopkins Hospital and The Johns Hopkins University were established through an extraordinary bequest—$7 million in 1873 dollars—from Mr. Johns Hopkins. Mr. Hopkins, who never married, was a successful merchant in Baltimore, and he left his considerable fortune to serve the educational and health needs of the citizens of Baltimore.

When the University first opened in Baltimore in 1876 under the leadership of Daniel Coit Gilman, it was modeled explicitly on the precepts of Wilhelm von Humboldt, a remarkable German statesman and educator. Johns Hopkins was America's first true modern research university—granting the doctorate, committed to freedom of teaching and research, and dedicated to the unity of research and teaching. Within a few years, von Humboldt's model was emulated by other American institutions of higher learning, including the oldest, Harvard.

Since its founding, the University has always been committed to excellence in education. For many years it has been the home of the Center for the Social Organization of Schools, a national research institute, and since the mid-1970s it has been the base for the Center for the Advancement of Academically Talented Youth. In the past several years we have devoted even more of our resources in a direct way to fostering school and university collaboration. The Hopkins/Dunbar program in the health professions began formally in the summer of 1986 to work with high school students at the magnet school adjacent to the East Baltimorecampus of the medical institutions. This is a collaborative effort that involves faculty at Dunbar and the university and medical practitioners at the hospital as well as parents. The first class of students in this program will graduate in 1990, and we hope to be able to report to you at a future conference of this council on the success of our efforts.

Now it is my great pleasure to introduce this morning's keynote speaker, Dr. Theodore Sizer. Dr. Sizer is well known as a passionate advocate for the reform of the American public school and has been especially outspoken about the "over-bureaucratization" of public education. He has also eloquently addressed the basic problems of teacher education and the plight of the classroom teacher. In a recent article for the *Journal of Teacher Education*, he wrote, "There has never been much popular charisma associated with the mentors of runny-nosed seven-year-olds or acne-ridden, noisy adolescents."

Dr. Sizer's career spans a wide range of educational experiences—from being headmaster of Phillips Academy in Andover, to Dean of the Graduate School of Education at Harvard, to his current position as Chair of the Education Department at Brown University. In addition, Dr. Sizer heads the collaborative Coalition of Essential Schools.

As a practitioner and researcher who is committed to collaboration between the schools and higher education, Dr. Sizer has a reputation for spending more time in the public school classrooms than most of his higher education colleagues. His highly praised book, *Horace's Compromise: The Dilemma of the American High School*, made a tremendous impact on how subsequent research studies approached the American public school. Please join me in welcoming Theodore Sizer.

Keynote Address:

When a Teacher Says, "I Quit"

Theodore Sizer
Chairman, Education Department
Brown University

When a teacher says, "I quit," what should our response be? By "our" I mean chief state school officers, their colleagues, and university and college types, as that is what we are here. I think we should have at least three responses.

If the teacher is good, we should be sorry and sad. If the teacher isn't good, we should say quietly, "That's fine that you're quitting." The departure of teachers isn't always a bad thing. Secondly, we should understand why teachers quit. For example, we should understand that coming and going isn't necessarily a bad thing. Some kind of turnover is healthy. The late Charles Brown, who used to be superintendent of the Newton, Massachusetts public schools, would argue that the 20 percent turnover in the schools in his system was healthy. That's a little high in my experience, but 10 to 20 percent annual turnover may be a good thing. A certain amount of quitting may be helpful.

We must also understand how difficult teaching is—even if it's done poorly. Susan Rosenholtz put it very well in her talk last night when she called it "an inherently difficult undertaking." It's the incessant pressure of those kids. They're never away from us. There's no hiding from the incessant pressure of their judgment of us as teachers, particularly at the middle and high school level—they jabber about us all the time. We're on stage all the time. There's real pressure and strain in that. But above all, there's the frustration of taking kids, and especially their minds, seriously—particularly as those same kids may not take themselves very seriously. Taking kids seriously when they don't—that's tough.

The final response should be to ask ourselves the question, what specifically can we do to lessen the likelihood of departure of the ablest teachers? How can we lessen the likelihood of having to say that we're sorry that one of the good ones has left? And it is on this third response that I wish to focus. I want to talk about what *we* can do, rather than talk directly about teachers.

If we're honest, we can do precious little, really, from our vantage points in the college classroom or in the state capital. The action is in the schools, as Susan powerfully reminded us last night. Or, as Gordon [Ambach] said to me at dinner last night, maybe the most powerful thing that a successful state school officer can do is to raise lots of money. While accepting the limitations of our leverage on the situation, I would like to give two examples which strike me as exceedingly important, things that we can most assuredly do, even while we're on the edges.

Teaching is Complex

The first example arises from a recent incident which forceably reminded me of it. There is a large public, inner-city high school that I know well, which for a number of reasons was evaluated by a university. The university group was asked to make a judgment about how good the school was, and that evaluation took the following form: a brief visit by a couple of university staff members, chats primarily with the principal, a quick tour of the school, and a request for data. What were the data? Whatever numbers the city or the principal had collected, which were swept together and used without very much regard as to how those data were collected or what instruments were used to derive that data.

Indeed the tests were brief, rather trivial quick and dirty exercises, largely of rote learning. The numbers were put together away from school. Then they were crunched and then crunched again. Of course, some of the numbers came out rather bizarrely. There weren't many kids involved, and the data were awfully sloppy if one looked at them seriously. So the findings suggested some bizarre things. But those were explained away, and the report delivered was highly complimentary and influential.

The principals and teachers at that school and some of us who knew the school well knew that this exercise was a joke. It rested on pseudoscience—"pseudo" in the sense that this science lacked any sophisticated or balanced assessment of what was really going on in that school. There was merely the acceptance of whatever was around that could be reduced statistically and then manipulated—even if the data were clearly superficial and, in some cases, crazy. Most important, much was missed. There was no assessment of the faculty's judgment. There was no assessment of the faculty's competence in their subject matter. There was no assessment of the intensity of the kids' work. There was no assessment of morale. There was no assessment, indeed, of most of the qualities, as Susan reminded us last night, that are the hallmarks of successful schools.

The report came out rather favorably about the school, and the principal was happy about that. Yet it was a joke. Why do university people do this? Why do respected scholars engage in this kind of exercise? One reason is, it is expected. We university people are asked to make evaluations quick and dirty, so we make them quick and dirty. They have to look substantial, so we put numbers in them. That gives the appearance of science.

Even more devastating is the fact that many of us in the university don't know how to do any kind of evaluation except number crunching. Unless somebody else feeds us the data, we are bereft of anything to do because we do not have experience in schools. We do not know how to be Margaret Mead. We only know how to engage through socio- or psychometrics. We are number crunchers; therefore, if you want an evaluation, we're going to crunch numbers. It's like a physician who, when greeted by a patient with a pained foot, takes the patient's tonsils out. We only do tonsillectomies here.

Finally, we university types need the money. We've got to keep employed. Nobody pays very much for serious evaluation, so we'll take what money is available and do the best we can—a couple of quick and dirty days, hire some graduate students, crunch the numbers, write a report—that's a $10,000 job, even though we're asked to do something far in excess of that level of funding. It's not very pretty. But what does it have to do with teachers, particularly, the best teachers—the folks that we don't want to lose?

It has a great deal to do with teachers because it trivializes their work. There's nothing more devastating than to have people in authority trivialize your work. It offends the best teachers' sense of professionalism and indeed their scholarship. Those teachers know full well that no university would ever allow such evaluative techniques to be applied to them. No, only to schools, only to other folk. Try sometime to do an evaluation on a university faculty; then we'll talk about methods, number crunching, sensitivity, richness, and all that stuff. The hypocrisy of it galls teachers. It mocks, by ignoring the teachers' sense of community. Again, as Susan asked last night, is the conversation in the teachers' room about the Boston Bruins or is it about the kids? And does that make a difference? Yes, it makes a big difference. But nobody cares, it appears. It signals a deliberate inattention on the part of very powerful academic allies. What this way of evaluation says is that the teachers are not appreciated. They are not appreciated. Their work is trivialized. And that's cause for leaving.

We university folks and chief state school officers and their staffs should not be complicit in this kind of pseudoscience. And it's hard not to be. When one makes criticisms of this kind, the retort is, "Well, everybody does it. It's the way it goes. It's the basis for comparison." And comparison is the big, "in" thing. We've got to have comparisons these days. And we have to have apples, apples, and apples; we can't have apples, oranges, and bananas. The public expects outcome measures; therefore we will give them whatever outcome measures we can get, even if they trivialize the complex, moral craft that is teaching.

I find this retort particularly dismaying, because the public I hear expects honest outcome measures, not just any outcome measures. And I think the public increasingly expects honest talk

about the difficulties of getting honest outcome measures. We don't want wall charts of whatever numbers are available, in spite of how much sand they rest upon. No. What we need is some honesty. And it's my responsibility and it's your responsibility to say, "Folks, we'd love to give you this stuff, but we can't because it trivializes, distorts, and basically undermines serious teaching."

So, to go back to the original question—what can we, here in this room, do to limit the departure of those crackling good teachers that we want to keep? We must accept and defend the complexity of teaching and thus not trivialize the craft. When you and I are asked to evaluate, we must constantly use these touchstones: we will accept no evaluation other than that which we would accept for ourselves and for our children; we should ask no school to make a judgment about a child that we would not accept for our own child; and, in the universities, we should not accept any kind of assessment except that which we would accept as the basis for accountability ourselves. With these touchstones, I don't think we'll go wrong. We can make them clear to those who work with us. And I think using them has a way of bringing us, in many cases, to our senses. That's one thing we can do.

Compromises are Inevitable

Let me turn to my second example. As most of you know, I was given a marvelous opportunity for three years in the early part of this decade to visit many schools—just go on the road, listening and watching, north, south, east, and west. What came through the many voices was ultimately that which my editors at Houghton Mifflin identified as "compromise." I had not seen it; it took an editor to say that what we were doing in *A Study of High Schools* was identifying kinds of compromises. The people whom you respected were saying, "We must compromise too much or we must compromise in the wrong way. What we are doing is cutting corners with kids we do not wish to cut."

The nonfiction character, that composite teacher, Horace Smith, that I used in my book is that kind of person, the kind that you and I would be sad to see leave teaching. But he is a man who is suffering from the slow rot of too much asked for, too many kids, and too many compromises in an ill-structured setting.

All activity requires compromises. God knows, the schooling of children requires compromises. The question is, which compromises? The argument we made in *A Study of High Schools* is that perhaps we're making the wrong compromises, even as we understand historically why the compromises we live with are in fact in place.

You're familiar with the critique. It's a critique now mentioned often in the context of "conditions of work"—the conditions of work for teachers, but also the conditions of work for children. We have been reminded powerfully again of work such as that by Seymour Sarason, whose very angry work—the work that he did in the late 1960s and early 1970s—identifies the regularities of schoolkeeping and how the regularities are getting in the way. Unless you deal with all the regularities at once, any attempt at improvement is smothered by those aspects of the school that are not dealt with.

A few examples, just to give a little of the feel and bring it back into the conversation. The daily schedule, that five-, six-, seven-period day, bang, bang, bang, bang. The bell, the kids begin to settle down. They don't settle down very fast; it takes about five minutes. You know, "Mr. Sizer, I don't have my pencil. I forgot my book; it's in the locker," etc. And then during the last five minutes of the period the kids are just watching the clock, moving one minute at a time. So you have about 35 minutes, as John Goodlad tells us, to hold the attention of those high school and middle school youngsters to their work. Then it's another 35-minute chunk of time. They have social studies with me, then physics, then math, a study hall, then physical education, and then lunch. Bang, bang, bang. And for the teachers, a new wave of kids every hour coming at us with no common notion of what preceded—some from French, some from biology—no gathering, no intellectual focus. Pow! into the room.

And we as teachers have no time to get together and talk about these things. I was at a meeting a couple of nights ago where a very well intentioned but very naive member of a school board was saying, "All the teachers should get together." And you want to say, "Mrs. Jones, look at the teachers' schedules that your committee has set up. There is no way in hell that all the teachers of any particular kid could ever get together at once, because the schedule doesn't allow it."

The kind of collective work and collective responsibility that Susan Rosenholtz spoke of last night is totally impossible in most high schools unless people stay after work or come early in the morning. Subjects are segregated—English having nothing to do with social studies having nothing to do with biology having nothing to do with math. The only people who are expected to be generally educated in a high school are the kids. The teachers work in complete isolation, one from another, even able to be scornful of each other's work.

There are many tasks in a school. Most high schools take on many, many things, and teachers are highly specialized. We have school psychologists who are different from school counselors who are different from special education teachers. The special education teachers are different from regular teachers who are different from assistant principals—rife specialization. There is far more specialization in an American middle school than in an American law school—far more. The result is that kids are rotated in a well-intentioned, but utterly unknowing way from one specialty to another. And, ironically, the higher the kid's level of risk, the more specialists are involved, each of whom knows that kid only a snip at a time. Endless pull-out programs, ten minutes, fifteen minutes, thirty minutes, in/out, in/out. Nobody really remembers, but they try to keep notes.

As John Goodlad showed us again and again in his book, ours is a pedagogy of talking. Teachers talk at the kids 70 percent of the time, his research shows. If you count other forms of talking, it's about 90 percent. Ninety percent of those 35-minute classes is talking—a notably inefficient form of pedagogy, which assumes also that teaching and schooling are about donation—"I know something and I'm just going to open up your head and pour it in." We "cover" things. The very rhetoric of teaching flies in the face of our understanding of how we learn.

The abuse of the notion of time: how do you get a diploma? You get a diploma by collecting credits. What's a credit? A credit is a number of days of seat-time. Completion of high school, the way we do it, defies common sense. Common sense would say to give them a diploma when they show us they can do something with their heads. That's not the way it works.

Finally, this issue of load. If we believe that kids differ one from the other and that we must as teachers make sense of that difference, how many individual kids can we get to know at once? One hundred and fifty, 160? If you're lucky, 120. Let's say that you have 120 senior high school kids. You assign three or four short writing assignments a week, and you want to spend some time after school talking with the kids and grading those papers. How much can you give per kid? Twenty minutes? Impossible. Ten minutes? Ten minutes a week, 120 kids, that's twenty working hours. So you don't. You fake it. You grade only every third paper. You make all sorts of compromises. Those who've taught large numbers of kids (my maximum number at the high school level was 204) can play all kinds of good games, and the kids like you if you're a good actor or an extrovert. But that's different from knowing how a particular kid's mind works. And unless you really know how that kid's mind works, you cannot help that kid learn in any very powerful way.

These kinds of issues, painful to recount, desperately depress the best folk. The Horace Smiths hang in, both because they enjoy the life with kids and because, in many cases, they don't know quite what else to do. But they are exhausted—the best of them. When they get the chance to teach fewer children, to make a different set of compromises, indeed to try something ambitiously different, many of them will say, as one Texas teacher said to me, "I will never go back if they make me teach 150 kids." She was exhausted by doing it differently, getting the kids to do the work, broadening her subject matter obligations in order to get the ratios down without changing the budget. But she said, "I'll never go back. I won't ever make the mistake of failing to understand the kids again." I'm sad to say she's quitting teaching this June because she would have to go back to teaching 150 kids. And one survivor, again referring to Susan's talk, gives this cynical response: "The kids are merely the fruit of parental depravity." Wonderful phrase.

What Can We Do?

So, what can we do about that? This is a fundamental problem: the best teachers are dismayed by the compromises they must make and trapped by the fact that there are virtually no

models out there of ambitiously different compromises. So, what can we do, you and I?

We can do three things.

One, we can resist sweeping this issue under the rug. It is a great temptation, for you and for me, to speechify about it and then forget it. And the reasons are several.

To really address the question of the conditions of work in a realistic way—by which I mean within the existing per pupil expenditure—absolutely means there will be all kinds of oxen gored all over the place. Who wants to get into the ox-goring business? The effort to find new compromises raises philosophical questions of purpose because it involves choices among dozens of good things we would like the schools to do—which *ten* can we do? And, indeed, it raises the fundamental question of what is a teacher? If a teacher isn't a talker, what is it? If a teacher is not a purveyor of truth to kids but a provoker of truth from kids, doesn't that mean that I not only use a different pedagogy but also change my own self-definition? Very tough.

This sort of ambitious changing of the conditions of work has few advocates. Who wants it? The system doesn't appear to want it very much for the reasons aforesaid. But it's crucial. Our research tells us it's crucial; common sense tells us it's crucial; and findings about teachers over and over again tell us it's crucial. As Susan reported last night in her study, salary is second to workplace conditions on teachers' wish lists. This is the heart of the matter. So, the first thing we can do is the most necessary, with all its hazards: resist sweeping it under the rug.

Second, we must resist policies that reinforce harmful regularities. We must look carefully at any initiatives in the reform area that, in an unintended way, reinforce the very obstacles identified by common sense and by research (such as that by Seymour Sarason). The obstacles that legitimate even further a system which doesn't work by adding tasks to the school day without subtracting any; that extend the separations among subjects by further specialization and reinforce rote learning with assessment procedures that give an advantage to timed memory work. And there are others. This is very important. Any issue of reform that comes across the desk has to be analyzed with this set of spectacles on. How will it affect the conditions of the children's work, the conditions of the teacher's work? Will this new policy, however well intentioned, strengthen the fractionated and chaotic reality that is the typical middle and high school day?

Finally, we must actively support ambitious restructuring. This takes more than recognizing it. It means trying to make it happen. It involves political advocacy. Not in some kind of sabre-rattling, radical chic sort of way—that's not what I'm talking about—but with a quiet recognition that the way we teach school arises from the late nineteenth century and the basic design of our schools is a late nineteenth century design. We're doing extremely well with an old system. Our Model T runs jolly well. But we can afford to do something better now. We know more about kids and how they learn. Scholarship has changed since the late nineteenth century. Maybe we can design a better high school than the model that arose during the same decade as the Model T.

This applies obviously to chief state school officers. It applies very much to universities, whose silence on this issue has been deafening. The universities in many ways are complicit with the narrowly specialized nature of the profession. Few in universities see schools whole. And when there are programs to prepare admininstrators whose responsibility it is to see schools whole, the programs are largely on management issues—not on the profound moral and behavioral issues that have to do with the learning by children and the working with them by adults.

So this political advocacy is very much in the universities' laps as well as the laps of the leaders in the states. You must also actively support ambitious restructuring. Here is the opportunity represented by chief state school officers, with money and waivers. "Money" in the sense that teachers need the time to figure out how their schools should be redesigned and "waivers" in the sense that room has to be given to folks who want to do something differently.

So we come back to this question: what can we do to hold the best people in teaching when it comes to the question of the workplace? You and I can resist sweeping the issue of the workplace under the rug, knowing that the workplace is not just for teachers, but for kids. We must work hard to resist policies, whether in state regulations and legislation or in university policies, that reinforce harmful regularities. And, finally, we must

actively support the best of our friends in the schools who have a vision of a different set of compromises.

I was chatting last night with Verne Duncan [Oregon Superintendent of Public Instruction] about his brief tenure as a chief state school officer, a veritable flash of time—14 years. I said to him, "Boy, it's more stressful now." He said, "Yes, more stressful, but it's a lot more fun." I thought that was a neat answer, but I didn't quite know what he meant. I think he meant that this is a time of unprecedented promise. What Verne signaled to me was that, yes, it's tough, but almost as a result of those pressures, opportunities have arisen in the past couple of decades that are unique.

As some of you know, my work inside of schools is being joined to the work in the regulatory, political, and legislative area which has been long the special province of the Education Commission of the States (ECS), and in a number of states a partnership is being formed between the Coalition of Essential Schools, the state authorities, and the ECS. It is in the conversations over this prospect that I have learned in a very powerful way of the extraordinary promise represented by leadership in the offices of chief state school officers.

With all due respect to the thousands of dedicated teachers and administrators, I think it is fair to say that the most progressive, powerful group in American public education now is in this room. In my hearing, there is more risk-taking seriously being considered by chief state school officers than by any other group. Maybe that's because most of you have been both practicing school people and practicing politicians. You don't just see one world or the other—you see them both. I think you are as a group substantially ahead of the thinking of the collective superintendents. I know you're way ahead of the teacher education faculties and the universities in which I work.

It is highly promising that those of you whom I'm beginning to get to know better are so clearly out in front in facing these hard realities. I think the acceleration of what you in various states are doing and collectively can do is one of the most fateful prospects. You really have a shot at it. Not only because of your positions but because there is among your number an understanding of how complicated all of this is and how one must move in a constructive way.

Good people can be held. There is absolutely no question in my mind. Teaching is the most moral, if you will, of the public professions because we're dealing with minds and hearts. It sounds sentimental to assert that, but it is the truth. If you and I and our friends in the schools can find a way of setting up a situation where good people can ply this complex moral craft called teaching in a way that makes compromises, but the least damaging compromises, and if we can in our public policies and in our university work reinforce the complexity and the moral quality of the craft and not trivialize it, then I think we can and will make a significant contribution.

What Will Keep the Teachers Teaching?

Patrick Welsh
English Teacher
T.C. Williams High School
Alexandria, Virginia

I must admit that I'm a little nervous up here, especially after hearing Susan Rosenholtz last night. To me, her most chilling comment was *children with teachers absent do not learn*. As I look at my watch—10: 40 a.m.—not only is my third period class not learning, but it is inflicting cruel and unusual punishment on a helpless substitute. I am also a bit uneasy because I'm the kind of teacher who cannot stand having even one administrator in the room. You know the kind who slide in the back row and start taking notes. "At 10:15 the teacher looked out the window. At 10:20 the teacher opened the book." To be in a room full of administrators is a little unnerving.

Last night Susan Rosenholtz was talking about good schools and bad schools. I would like to talk about my own school, T. C. Williams High School in Alexandria, Virginia, a town of about 110,000 located on the banks of the Potomac just five minutes outside of Washington. My school has about 2,400 ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth graders. We are 41 percent black, 43 percent white and the rest foreign students, mostly refugees from Afghanistan, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and any other place where there is revolution.

Are we a good school? Well, we have 18 National Merit Scholars this year, which is the highest number in the state of Virginia, the second highest in the Washington metropolitan area, and higher than prestigious schools like St. Alban's and Sidwell Friends. Two years ago we had seven Westinghouse Science winners, the most of any public school in the country. We have peer tutoring; we have a course in human resources in which students go out and work with retarded students; we have peer observation among teachers. In many ways we could say that we are a very good school.

Graduation is coming up on June 16th. Graduating with those 18 National Merit Scholars who are going to the best universities—several to Brown—will be at least 200 kids who read no better than seventh or eighth graders. One hundred of them probably read at the fifth grade level or below. As many as 70 or 80 of the girls have babies. Some have two or three children; one of them has four. There are a good number of professional crack dealers who will be graduating in that class who have gotten so little out of school that they have already turned to a life of crime to make money. If you look at that side of our school, we're a lousy school.

Teachers, Parents, and Kids

When you look at my school or at individual schools around the country, you have to be very careful about making judgments. As Ted [Sizer] was saying, we have to be very cautious, not only in judging teachers, but in judging what is a good school and what is not. In my school we see a stark contrast in the nature of parents. I don't want to beat on parents. I know that the phrase "the depravity of parents" was an excuse on the teachers' parts. And yet, what we see in my school is a parent gap. We look very good as far as kids who have the "right" parents go, and we look lousy as far as kids who don't have the so-called right parents, who have no parents at all, or who are living with grandmothers and seldom knowing who brought them into the world.

Susan made a good distinction last night about committed and uncommitted teachers. I know many committed teachers and many fantastic teachers that you people would love to have teaching your own children who are just hanging on by their nails. They are committed,

but they are burning out fast. They are questioning their commitment.

An example from my own teaching—my first period class this year can appreciate James Joyce's *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, William Faulkner's *Light in August*, or a Shakespeare play. Kids pick up the ball immediately. There is much discussion (I'm almost more the basketball coach than the teacher), though there is still too much teacher talk. I can come out of there feeling, "I'm a great teacher," and really excited. Then I have a period off. And then I have my third period class, which is seniors again, most of them reading around eighth or ninth grade levels, although some of them at sixth and seventh grade levels. In my first period class we sit in a big circle and we talk about literature and writing. Before my third period class I have to stand outside the room and wait until the teacher comes out. As soon as the bell rings, I run in and rearrange the desks in nice little rows so I can keep control. I come out of my third period class usually feeling pretty incompetent, often feeling very angry and often blaming the parents, blaming the kids, and in a sense blaming everybody but myself.

I think all of us have to realize that whom a teacher teaches has an enormous impact on whether a teacher stays or doesn't stay. Ideally, we would like to say all kids are the same and all kids are wonderful. You know, as Father Flanagan of Boys Town said, "There is no such thing as a bad boy." I would beg to disagree with Father Flanagan, my Irish Catholic background notwithstanding.

For example, a colleague of mine was teaching all of our low-track students two years ago. This woman was miserable—angry in the teachers' lounge, angry at the kids, frustrated, and thinking about quitting teaching. Then her schedule was rearranged so she is teaching kids in the higher top tracks, and she is now a totally different person. She is happy again, she is committed, and she is feeling that feeling all of us as teachers need to feel most—that we are having an impact. We're not just sitting in there, doing what our superintendent calls the "ditto curriculum," in which dittos are handed out and the kids fill in the blanks and shut up. We are doing more than just keeping control, which is what a lot of us are forced to do with poorly motivated kids in high school who cannot read, write, or compute very well.

In the speech last night a teacher was quoted as saying, "Kids today don't seem to care as much. There seems to be less direction and discipline at home." I know it is too easy to blame others. William Bennett blames Ted Sizer, the universities blame the high schools, the high schools blame the grammar schools, and we all blame the parents. And the mother looks at the dad and says, "Well, you know, that gene is not in my family." But the statement that kids don't care as much and that there is less discipline in the home is largely true. One of the top science teachers in the country, who had seven Westinghouse finalists a few years ago at our school, was tearing his hair out about the fact that kids simply are not interested in science as they used to be fifteen years ago, and that fewer and fewer kids are willing to put in the hard-nosed work every night that physics, chemistry, and calculus demand. Many of our wonderfully committed and dedicated science teachers feel this way.

Those of us who are English or humanities majors know that one can fake it, and a lot of us probably did fake it through college and graduate school, but physics separates the men from the boys, and the women from the girls. Science teachers are finding kids simply are not willing to put in the work they used to be willing to do.

Another frustration: there are a lot of lousy, rotten, stinking teachers. They have no right being near kids, and the kids cannot stand them, but they have been in the school system, ten, twenty, or twenty-five years. They are untouchable. On the other hand, one of the best, toughest, and most popular teachers in the social studies department at my school got riffed. She is the only teacher who assigned a twenty-page term paper, just as kids were deep into the senior slump and the senior prom. The kids were screaming and hollering. But they love her and flock to her classes.

There are a lot of rotten teachers, but, at the same time, I think many teachers are sick of being blamed for the problems of the schools. Your policy statement ["Assuring School Success for Students at Risk"] says, "We have abundant analysis and evidence that students at risk are often poor, minority, or non-English-speaking. Students at risk frequently lack community and family support. Evidence shows clearly the schools' failure to serve students at risk results

from these factors: low expectations for student performance...."

I know it is true that low expectations do defeat students, but I also know many, many very good teachers whom you would love to be your own kids' teachers, who have very high expectations and who are having no impact at all on high school kids, especially with the at-risk kids whom we are talking about. I think we will have to come to a point where we admit that many of these kids are lost by the time they get to high school. We are going to have to find, if not another place for them, certainly other methods of reaching them. What we really must find, as we all know, is a way of reaching them even before they are in school, reaching their mothers, or reaching them even in nursery schools.

Today's Social Environment

It may sound like a cop-out, but I would like to talk about some of the social forces (and I think we all know them) that I and other teachers confront every day. When I went to school at Notre Dame High School in Batavia, New York in 1958, you either had a car or you were in the National Honor Society. In a sense, you simply had to study; not only would the nuns beat you if you didn't, but there simply wasn't that much to do. There certainly wasn't that much television. Today, I don't know exactly what the percentage is, but the majority of my students work after school. I have doctors' daughters and high-rolling Washington lawyers' daughters who work anywhere from four to eight hours after school, obviously not because they need to, but to keep up with the latest fashions—to pay for cars, not just those like my own Citation, but the flashiest cars that you can possibly buy.

The work problem gets worse in lower socioeconomic groups. For example, kids come into school who live in dire poverty, but they are dressed in as much as $700-800 worth of finery. The $160 Timberland boots, the Gortex $300 leisure suit, the gold chains, the whole business. Jobs are taking an enormous amount of time away from school. When you ask a high school kid to read 60 pages one night, the answer is, "I can't, I've got to work." I have heard it and most teachers in the country have heard it. And the expectation is that work comes first.

Another little distraction that we never had in 1958 in Batavia, New York is the infamous VCR. I know that those of us in the schools are probably using them to good advantage. Some of my students leave the house at 7 a.m. to go to school, and they set the VCRs to tape the soaps. One girl says that she wants to pick up that 12:30 one, which I think is "Santa Barbara." Would anyone admit to knowing what it is? She says that she sets her VCR for 12:25 because she likes to pick up those ads so she can kind of swing right into it when she gets home and have the illusion that it is all live. They tape about three hours of the soaps; get out of school at 2 o'clock; go to some menial job like filing at the Pentagon; get out of there at 5:30; and get home at 6 and start watching "Laverne and Shirley" and the reruns on Channel 5. Then they come out of their rooms to eat with their parents and then go back, watch the regular fare maybe until 8 or 9 p.m., and then plug in the soaps.

Now, as unbelievable as it sounds, it's true. There are kids watching six to eight hours of TV a day. One girl said to me, "I don't live in my home, I live in my room with my TV." They are like Cistercian monks cloistered away in their rooms.

The other problem that we never had when I was a kid—the empty home. For some reason, our school starts at 7:30 in the morning. In my morning class the kids are just zonked out. When they are full of energy at 2 p.m. we send them home. The vast majority of them have empty houses where they can go and at best snooze or just lie around, at the worst engage in casual sex, drinking, whatever. I think kids today are getting angry about their parents' neglect.

Last week a reporter from the *San Diego Union* came to our school and interviewed students. He's writing a book on raising children today, which will be called *I'll Play With You Tomorrow*. Listening to him interview these kids, seeing their anger, was like a window opening for me. One of my top students said, "When I was growing up my mother was home, my dad was home a lot, and I got a pretty good deal, but my little brother is messed up, because nobody's home anymore and I'm having to take care of him. And my mom is exhausted when she comes back from work and he's very angry about it, and I'm angry about it." And another girl, a top student who was accepted by three ivy league schools said exactly the same about her family, that the younger kids in her family are not being taken care of the way she was.

In our school the problem of teenage pregnancy grows as socioeconomic levels decline. We are all aware of this, but let me make this point. Out of our 2,400 students, including 18 National Merit Scholars, 120 girls had babies last year and slightly more the year before. (That's not the number of girls who got pregnant: that's not counting abortions or the girls who didn't go to public health to have the baby.) These girls are provided with homebound instruction and complete care. Even though most of them are semi-literate, each gets a meaningless diploma.

Another distraction in my school is crack—and the new drug that they discovered in Alexandria and the Washington area last week called bazooka. This is a cheaper form of crack that anybody can buy for five bucks. As unbelievable as it sounds, there are drug dealers going to the houses of my students, in the housing projects of Alexandria, offering parents cash up front if their younger children, especially the junior high kids, will push drugs for them. They are promising the best lawyers in the Washington area to get the kids off if they are arrested, and if things really go wrong, they are promising to relocate them in another city.

Faced with these and other problems, I don't think it is an exaggeration to say that teachers today are up against the wall. I talked to 300 advanced teachers at a New England conference recently. I had the sense they were top teachers. Their feeling was, "I can hold on maybe ten years, maybe fifteen, but I really feel sorry for the new teachers coming in now." The sense is that schools are being overwhelmed by these kinds of social problems.

Solving the Problems

And what do our leaders give us? I'm certainly glad that Susan mentioned this last night. It is not the role of principals to be instructional leaders. Most of them simply do not have the talent. What's needed is some kind of renaissance man, a John Donne or Thomas More who hasn't existed in the last three or four hundred years, to really do the job of instructional leader in a high school. Most of our principals are managers. Many of them in our system are control people. They were in a classroom maybe three or four years, often running a crisis center, or they were coaches who were in the public eye and known in the community. Then they were promoted to principal or to some kind of administrative post.

What do we get from these people? Very often it is the clichés of Madeline Hunter. The teacher should go in and do a sponge activity. Something should be written on the board so that when the kids come in, they can sit down and get busy. There are three varying activities during class and then a closure activity, where the teacher tells them what they learned today. And the bright kids are saying, "I can't stand it. We go into one class and they tell us what we learned yesterday. They've got something up on the board that they go through, and then they tell us what we learned today. Then we go to the next class, and it goes on and on and on."

But this approach may look good. As Ted was saying, it's an easy solution and it looks good on paper. Given these challenges, perhaps your biggest job is to reduce the isolation of teachers, as Susan was saying yesterday. That is an easier task, I think, in junior high schools and elementary schools where there is a lot of team teaching. But from talking to teachers and looking at schools in my area, my feeling is that isolation is the rule in American high schools. We work in a closed-door culture: you walk into your room, you close the door, and you feel very good about it because you are safe. You take your education courses, you get certified, you go into the classroom, and 35 years later you come out. Hardly any adult has seen your work, hardly any adult has offered you encouragement or praise. The only adults who were in the classroom were the note-takers who slid in and wrote the little things in the back of the room. Then they talked to you about them and put them in file, but they really didn't encourage you or make you feel good about teaching.

One of the highlights of my year was a letter I received the other day from a mother who went on about how I helped her daughter. Her daughter was in an advanced placement class, and she had difficulty getting into the class and had trouble in the beginning, so I let her slide with a "C" the first quarter. That's all I did, I think. But the mother wrote me a letter saying how good the girl felt to be in this class and to compete with these kids she had difficulty with during her whole school career. That's almost all the encouragement I have received all year about what I have done in the classroom. Maybe I have

done such rotten stuff that I should not get any encouragement, but I don't think that is the case. Teachers get very little encouragement from other adults.

It is easy to knock administrators; sometimes it gets to be a favorite pastime of mine or a favorite pastime of teachers in our workrooms. It is very hard to be a high school administrator, especially in a diverse school like mine. The principal will have a mother on the phone complaining that the guidance counselor's recommendation to Yale wasn't long enough and that's why the kid didn't get in. The Afghans and Nicaraguans will be fighting in the parking lot. In some dark corner of the stage in our enormous cavernous auditorium, there will be a couple making strange sounds. We don't know what they are doing. The principal is running around putting out fires, and the assistant principals are simply too busy chasing troubled kids around and keeping order in the school to really keep an eye on teachers or really encourage teachers.

Let me give you my favorite example about my getting help as a teacher. I have taught some twenty-one years and the biggest help I got was in my twentieth year, last year. I met a woman at a conference named Peggy O'Brien who is the education coordinator at the Shakespeare Theater at the Folger in Washington. I knew she had to be good because the Royal Shakespeare Company sends her to London every year for three weeks to teach British teachers how to teach Shakespeare. So I invited her to come and teach my classes about Shakespeare.

She came before a group of about 100 students. Everybody sat in a circle in a theatre-like setting. She began talking about Shakespeare and their complaint was, "The language is so hard and he makes us memorize this stuff." She said, "Well, does he ever get you up on your feet to act the stuff out?" They said, "No. He sits there and he reads it to us, or he has us read it to each other," and their general point was, "Welsh is boring as hell when he teaches Shakespeare." She said, "OK, I want to get you up on your feet." She grabbed a bunch of kids and they did a scene from *Romeo and Juliet*. Then another group of kids did a scene from *Hamlet*. She said, "OK, I want you to tell him that when you go back into the classroom, he's got to let you act the plays out." She said to me afterwards, "You've got a lot of problems, but the good thing about you is that at least you realize you've got the problems. Most teachers don't."

I went back to the classroom and not only did *Othello* take off with my advanced placement students, who are very bright and motivated, but to my amazement it also took off with our phase two students. (In our school, "phasing" is a euphemism for tracking.) These kids, who don't even like to read the *Washington Post* sports page or anything in print, loved to read Shakespeare when they were up on their feet acting.

One of the problems in helping the teachers is who is going to do the helping. A lot of administrators simply are not capable of helping people in certain subjects. They can go in and look for the big picture, yet that is why in our school system they really were "digging" the sponge activity. If you don't have your sponge activity on the board I can write that down. That's observable. But what I think most teachers want is coaches. I want a Peggy O'Brien, who is an expert in Shakespeare, to teach me how to teach Shakespeare. I want somebody else who is an expert in poetry to teach me how to teach poetry. I have always had good luck with poetry, but drama has been a disaster with me until recently.

When I found out that for twenty years I had been doing it the wrong way, I felt angry, but then there was a sense of guilt about it. I had the feeling that there is more out there that I could learn, that when I complain about my third period class (which mercifully will end in five minutes and release the sub), and my difficulty reaching them, that there are ways that I could reach them, but nobody showed me. Nobody has come into show me and because (as Ted was saying) of the way that school is structured, with a rushed day, it is very difficult for teachers to get together or to come in, see each other, and coach each other.

If there is anything you should do as the leaders in education, it is breaking down the isolation of teachers, getting them to see each other teach, and getting experts to help them. I know that is hard, because if you live behind closed doors for twenty years, you get to love it. It is so comfortable and when any adult comes in, you panic. It could be anyone. It could be a friend coming in. Perhaps new teachers coming into the schools are accustomed to adults walking in and out of their rooms, as it is often done in elementary schools. Perhaps they are able to

break down that closed-door culture, so teachers can improve, so the best can get better, and those who are really desperate can either improve or get out.

Helping At-Risk Youth

An issue that haunts me a lot in my school is that there is greater teacher attrition where kids are most at risk, and that is in inner-city schools today. In Alexandria we don't have a strong middle-class black population. Because of discriminatory housing patterns, blacks who have made it in Alexandria would move to Maryland or into the District of Columbia. We are just now building a strong, middle-class black population. We have very affluent white students who live in these federal homes on the Potomac and very poor black children, many of whom live in housing projects.

Our school board, this year and last, declared minority achievement its main goal. What is minority achievement for our school board? It is focusing on the bottom 35 percent of kids in the school system. As I said before, we need to reach these kids early. The point in your little brochure that I agree with the most is the guarantee of "A parent and early childhood development program beginning ideally for children by age three but no later than age four." If we are going to catch low income minority kids, these kids in my area who happen to be black and who live in dire poverty, if we are going to turn the situation around so they don't become the absolute scourge of the high schools, we must reach them early in their lives.

They are really the victims of the schools. They've been passed along. They are going to graduate with their phony diplomas, many of them reading at the fifth and sixth grade levels. Unfortunately, we don't look upon them as the victims. We look upon them as the troublemakers, but we're going to have to admit the other side of it. They are the kids who are driving teachers out of teaching, and I mean white teachers as well as black teachers. I don't think it is a racial issue. Some of it is, but I think a lot of it comes down to a class issue.

If we are going to pull up the at-risk kids, many of whom happen to be black, we have to start looking at the top black kids in our school. In a recent *Washington Post* article, I wrote about the difficulty that the high achieving black kids in our school system have. They face an academic apartheid in which the honors programs are almost all white, with three or four black kids, and the low track classes are predominantly black. I was amazed to hear them talk. These black kids in the honors courses are under enormous pressure in our schools, and they are getting it from both ends.

They get pressure from white kids who are questioning their achievement. One senior who just got into Harvard, Yale, and Brown, is a brilliant kid with straight A's. White kids with lower SAT scores are saying to her, "You only got in because you are black." Throughout her career, she and other bright black students have had to deal with white kids who assume their success is due to their race, not real achievement.

There is even worse pressure to prove to other black kids, to the low achievers, that they are really black even though they are smart. Recently a black girl who got into Williams College (one of the brightest kids I have ever taught) was sitting on the front porch of our school with a white friend. A semiliterate football player who reads below the sixth grade level and cannot get the 700 cumulative SAT score to play football in college, came up to her and called her, "a white nigger scho-o-lastic bitch." In my school there is a whole group of very bright black students who find it very difficult to achieve. There is an anti-achievement ethic that is rampant among these kids, especially among the boys. This is the kind of pressure the top black kids face.

This year our football team won the state championship. I'm not anti-athletic (in fact I am a wild sports fan), but it bothers me that the football team got a parade downtown, a night at the city council, and plaques in the city square, while the eight black kids who were recognized by the National Merit Corporation for outstanding achievement got no recognition. What kind of message does that send to other kids, especially to the younger ones?

I think we have to pay special attention to top black kids, to bring them together to talk with each other. I think we have to glorify them. Now the District of Columbia has instituted a program where each child who comes in the top ten percent of his/her high school class will get $1,000. That may sound like a quick fix, but it is a start to recognize these kids and to hold them up.

I know that the chiefs are concerned with the dropout rate. We have all got to be concerned with it, but there is another rate I am concerned about, and that is the kick-out rate. As a teacher, I just can't help but feel that we have got to be willing to boot more kids out of school. I think 25 or at the most 50 students, perhaps one percent, should *not* be attending my school. Recently the captain of our football team, was arrested with a gun in his trunk, $5,000 worth of crack in his front seat, and $1,100 in cash. He was arrested on a Friday. The story appeared in *The Washington Post* and on the news, and he was back in school on Monday morning.

Within the same month, he was arrested again for interfering with his brother's arrest. He was in school the next day. He was arrested for malicious wounding—beating a guy with a baseball bat; he was in school the next day. He was arrested again, the fourth time in one month. This guy likes publicity; he has become a household name in the Washington area. Every day he was back in school.

We have to abide by the law. He is innocent until proven guilty. The guy did beat the rap on the crack. They could not find his fingerprints on the plastic bag, and the two guys in the car with him, who are sophomores in our school, pleaded the fifth amendment. They are back in school. Sister Carmelita, my teacher in eighth grade, would dispatch those guys quickly. None of my high school or grammar school teachers would have tolerated this.

I do not know about other states, but in the state of Virginia, the principal and teachers cannot be told if a kid 17 or under is on probation for a crime, no matter how serious the crime is. One cop said over 200 kids in the Alexandria school system are on probation. A couple of years ago one of these kids hit a teacher with a club. One hired a hit man to come in and hit a teacher who made him take off his hat in class. But we as teachers cannot know who is on probation.

The big joke is that the kids know who are dealing drugs. When someone is arrested for dealing drugs, the administrators and teachers say, "Oh, we can't believe this. Our hero!" The kids say, "It's been going on for two years. How could you not know?" They all know what is going on. It's very demoralizing to teachers and administrators and, I'm sure, to yourselves, to put up with this.

However, I am convinced that a small number of kids need to be somewhere else. Father Flanagan was wrong. There is such a thing as a bad boy, and there is such a thing as a bad girl. And the real tragedy lies in their defeating and destroying themselves. They're having no impact on the high achieving kids in our school. These kids look on the criminals, the bad news kids as amusements. They think it's funny that in our school they can ask one kid, "Are you going to Harvard, Yale, or Brown?," and ask another guy in the hall, "Are you going to plead the fifth or guilty?" They find this amusing. I think we will have to be willing to get rid of a small number of kids, if we want to keep teachers teaching and a decent morale in the schools.

There's that obsession about kids getting diplomas. Well, these people are going to get their diplomas on June 16th at my school. It will be meaningless to so many of them. They've been doing the ditto curriculum, filling in the blanks. We've been keeping them quiet, and they really didn't get an education. I don't know what kind of jobs a lot of them will get.

Ted Sizer said that we have a late nineteenth century design for schools, and I agree. Those teachers who I thought were so great in my high school founded their teaching on that design. However, we don't have late nineteenth century kids in schools today. Whether the kids are poverty-stricken or affluent as can be, they are distracted, they need all kinds of attention, and most of all they need exciting teaching. If there is anything I learned in writing a book and focusing on my school, it is that schools are colossally boring to students—to the brightest as well as those who can barely read.

I think everything is up for grabs. Be willing to look at things and change the structure of the schools, the structure of the day. As Sizer said, be bold. If you do, we can finally start reaching these kids who are at risk. We can start reaching them early, finally make changes in our schools, and keep good people teaching.

An Overview of the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards

James Kelly, President
National Board for Professional Teaching Standards

I am happy to have an opportunity to talk with you today about the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards. I thank the Council of Chief State School Officers for arranging this conference, and David Hornbeck for his leadership of the Council and series of commitments that the Council has made on the subject of the education of at-risk children. It's an outstanding program, a group of distinguished speakers, and I know that there are many in this room who can think back a number of years when it would have been literally impossible to conceive of the Council of Chief State School Officers taking a national leadership position and forthright initiative on the subject addressed by the policy statement on at-risk youth.

I commend the leaders of the Council for adopting the policy statement. The fact that the Council has chosen to declare this a central issue for its own deliberations and its programs is something that all of us who care about education in America should applaud. I'd like today to make a few comments about the environment within which we're working on improvement of schools in the United States and then say a few words about the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards.

There are two thoughts that seem to me to be central to the Council's thinking and my thinking. The first is that the education of at-risk children involves the entire education system and not just a narrow segment of institutions and personnel. I don't think of the education of poor children or educationally disadvantaged children as a project or special area, or as a temporary theme or set of isolated institutions. The education of at-risk children is not exactly the same thing as the education of all children because special attention, efforts, resources, and knowledge are needed. I do believe that all elements of the education system, from the President of the United States and the governors through the chiefs and the state and local boards, are essential and must be engaged.

This leads me to my second point, that even if all of those great dignitaries do wonderful things on behalf of the education of at-risk children, teachers remain the central resource. When all of the shouting is finished, you end up with some children in a classroom with a teacher. What happens there is vital, not just to the children who are at risk and to the education system, but to the country as a whole.

There are several, major environmental reasons why the status quo is not good enough for the challenges we face at this time. I don't believe that the schools serve only themselves. I say as the President of the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards that I don't think the education system exists just for the teachers; I think the education system serves the nation, the society, the future, and the economy. We need to think carefully about the kinds of demands that are being placed on us by the broader society—the kinds of needs the society has—as we think about issues the Council has raised in its policy statement.

The Good News

It is very important that we keep the good news and the bad news in perspective. It is entirely possible to focus so much on the shortcomings and failures of the schools in the United States that one fails to remember the many astonishing changes and accomplishments in that system that took place over a relatively short period of time. For example, in less than 50 years the system has moved from 20 percent high school graduation to 70 percent. From segregation in St. Louis, where I grew up, to a constitutionally desegregated system. From an

elites-only in higher education to more than 50 percent of high school graduating classes going to college. From separate and inadequate education for handicapped children to the revolution that has occurred in the last ten to fifteen years. From monolingual education to bilingual education.

The system has gone from 65 percent reliance on the property tax to states providing over half of school revenues. This is in part because state revenues are elastic and in part because states struggle constantly against the inequities which they themselves created when they established school districts with such inequitable powers to tax and provide resources per student. And, during the last twenty years especially, states have provided large increases in real dollars spent on the education of children.

These are accomplishments in which everyone concerned with schools in the United States can take pride. Our system, perhaps uniquely among all of the large, advanced, industrial nations, subscribes to the goal of the education of all children—not just those who pass a test at the end of the seventh grade and not just those who are rich. So these are really important, positive accomplishments upon which we cannot rest, but in which we can take pride as we look forward to the kinds of challenges we have.

Four Major Concerns

More of the same isn't going to be good enough. The world's economy is changing. Americans who were trained to work in factories and on farms that no longer exist have children coming to school who will have to learn to think for a living. I'm not going to go through the panoply of problems facing the American economy, but it is being transformed and the heart of the future of this economy is in brain power, human capital, and in the human resources the nation can attract into productive economic activity. The economy is in and of itself a very important reason why we must reexamine the content of schooling and the productiveness of schooling. If we don't, we will end up with a very unhappy situation where we have an insufficient proportion of our population producing economic wealth and a much too large proportion unable to produce wealth and demanding consumption and support, largely because they did not, for one reason or another, acquire the proper kind of education while going through school.

During the 1980s, we have been floating along on a sea of Japanese dollars—borrowing in our extravagance almost $2000 per worker per year for the last seven years, which our kids are going to have to pay back in one of two ways. One of them is a decreased standard of living through the fluctuation in purchasing power of the dollar. The other is through increased taxes to pay back not only the debt we have accumulated, but the huge interest payments on that debt.

Even if the economy were fine, we have another problem in this country that demands major efforts to restructure and reform education so that it will work better. That is the issue I call "social cohesiveness." Alone among the great industrially advanced nations, this country has a diverse population. We like it that way. It is growing evermore diverse as there is a constant wave of immigration coming into this country that goes back, not five, ten, twenty or fifty years, but since 1619. The common school in America has a special burden to carry. Compared to any other institution that has been given this challenge here or elsewhere, schools have done very well. But very well is never good enough with the income and racial distinctions that persist in this society along with a growing underclass.

The third rationale for education reform is the American ideal for citizenship. That is to say, the civic education function of the schools needs to be reexamined. When less than 50 percent of the population votes in presidential elections and where five or ten percent turn out for school board elections, this is a serious problem, especially combined with the social cohesiveness issue and the constant immigration and linguistic differences of our population. There are serious problems which the schools need to face with regard to educating people to be citizens in a modern, industrial democracy. Maybe someday there will be a generation which will say, "No, we refuse under ethical grounds to borrow $2000 per year per person and require our children to pay that back."

A fourth major reason—even if the rest were only just so much rhetoric—is that we have a firm commitment to the education of each individual. That's what motivates most of us who are in the field of education. We want to do the best we can for each and every child in America. So there are four macroenvironmental concerns: the demands

of the economy for competitiveness, the cohesiveness of the society, the education of citizens to run this democracy, and the maximum development of each individual. In addition, there are two special issues within the teaching profession itself that require a lot of attention. They are classic examples of the old adage that you'd better watch out what you want because you're liable to get it.

The Supply of Teachers

The first of these has to do with the supply of teachers, both the quantity and quality of supply. I'm not going to recite at length the statistics with regard to the quantity of teachers, but in 1982, the country hired 115,000 new teachers and in five more years it is expected that the number of new hires coming into the system will be approaching a quarter of a million. More than half the teachers now teaching will be retired or will have resigned within a few years and will be replaced. So we have an historic opportunity to replenish the teacher workforce, or we have an historic problem about the replacement of this workforce, depending on how you look at the issue. The prospects of having a sufficient number of teachers coming out of the colleges and into teaching five or ten years from now would require almost a fourth of all college graduates in America to enter teaching—a goal we are not likely to achieve.

Within that problem of quantity is embedded an even more serious problem, which is the supply of minority teachers. The numbers are extremely disturbing when one looks at the increasing proportion of minority enrollments in schools and the decreasing proportion of minorities in college who elect to go into teaching. Teaching as a profession has benefited for a long time because women and minorities have had relatively few occupational choices. Now able women and minorities in colleges are luxuriating in many professional opportunities. I have a son who is just graduating from the Stanford MBA program. Back when I was at Stanford for my doctorate, there probably weren't ten women in the Stanford MBA program. Half of my son's graduating class of 300 is female.

So, as a profession, we in the education field need to find ways to mobilize the ideas and resources of the country to make teaching more attractive as a profession so we can attract the next generation of teachers. What we do about this in the next ten or fifteen years will have a lot to do with the quality of people who are in teaching for a quarter of a century and more. The solving of that problem involves in part the financial support of teachers' salaries. Salaries have come up in real terms in the last several years, but this period of increasing teacher salaries follows a ten-year period of decline in real terms. Despite the increases of the last several years, teacher salaries are near the bottom in comparison with those of other professionals.

The Status of Teachers

A second aspect of this is the esteem for and sense of self-worth in the teaching profession. When my mother became a teacher in the late 1920s, she did so because there were almost no other occupational alternatives for her. Several years later she was told that she could not teach any more because she had the temerity to get married. That was in 1932. Fifteen years later the system changed and she returned to teaching. She taught until she reached retirement age. The point of this story is that even during that time she felt good about being a teacher. She didn't say she was "just a teacher." Today, when kids think about teaching, they say "I'll just be a teacher." You can't change that without some money, but money alone won't change it. Changing it, as a self-esteem issue, as a perception issue, in a real marketplace with real competition, is going to require some restructuring. It's going to require not just restructuring teaching within the school, but new ways of thinking about the role of teachers and the meaning of the professional, or the teaching field will continue to be perceived by people outside of it and at the margins as a low-status, low-pay, lock step situation with no hope. The labor market would respond to demands for new teachers by lowering standards.

That is my view of the environment within which the National Board exists, and also the environment within which we're trying to think of new ways to improve the education of at-risk children.

The National Board for Professsional Teaching Standards

I've been asked to talk about the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards and I will do so, happily and briefly, and then take some

questions. The National Board was established a year ago, with 64 members, and the staff began work in November of 1987. The mission of the Board is to establish high and rigorous standards for what teachers should know and be able to do—not just what they should know in a passive knowledge sense, but what they need to be able to do in the classroom because teaching is an active, performing, interactional professional activity involving judgment. It is not a rote procedure. Second, the Board's mission is to establish an assessment system that will ascertain which teachers meet the standards and which do not. Third, the Board will address a series of related education policy and/or reform issues which are related to its core mission of certification and assessment.

The certification system that the Board contemplates is intended to be voluntary and national, but nonfederal (nongovernmental). We're a not-for-profit corporation. We intend to establish a certification system that allows teachers across the country to elect as to whether they will present themselves for the assessment process or will not. Teachers who elect to present themselves for the assessment process will go through it and we hope many will pass—probably some will not. Those who pass will become Board-certified—analogous in the field of teaching to what happens to accountants who become certified public accountants or to doctors who pass, in addition to a state licensing for general medical practice, a board examination and become a specialist; lawyers passing the bar; architects becoming board-certified based upon knowledge and competence.

The National Board does not at this point have a view regarding the relationship of its certificates to the decisions that you as state policymakers make about education policy in your state. The Board is a professional certification board. It is not a state or local operating and governance board. Many of you know that I have a career-long respect for the federal system and the roles of states in that system. I think that the simplest thing that can be said about it is that the Board is real; it's going to happen. There are going to be Board-certified teachers and it is incumbent upon all of us to start to think about the implications for state governance and administration of schools. One helping hand has been extended by the National Governors' Association, which has just issued a pamphlet called "Getting Ready for the National Board," authored by Governor Tom Kean of New Jersey. It makes a number of suggestions about some of the issues raised at the state level by the existence of the National Board.

The National Board was established at the suggestion of the Carnegie report, *A Nation Prepared*. It emerged and was formed with the active endorsement and participation of the National Governors' Association, which unanimously endorsed the establishment of this Board two years ago, and by the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers, whose national unions have endorsed it and some of whose elected officials, including Mary Futrell and Al Shanker, serve on the Board.

The Board is composed of 64 people. Its chair is Jim Hunt, the former governor of North Carolina and a person many of you know as an active leader in drawing education, political, and business interests together for school reform. Two-thirds of the Board is drawn from the teaching profession. This may sound like a lot to those of you who are chief state school officers, but it is in fact a lower proportion of members of the certifying profession than in the other professions that have national certification. It would be unthinkable that the doctors would have only two-thirds of the members of the certifying board being members of that profession. So, one-third of our Board is from the sector called "public and other educator." This includes chief state school officers (two of whom serve on the Board), superintendents, principals, local school board members, state school board members, governors, former governors, business officials, and state legislators. For example, the President and President-elect of the National School Boards Association serve on the Board, and the past president of National Association of State Boards of Education also serves on the Board. Half the members of the Board are actively engaged in classroom teaching.

The Board is a working one. It meets quarterly. Those of you who have boards of eight or ten or twelve can give some thought to how much fun it is to run 48-hour, morning, noon, and night board meetings with 64 members. We have had excellent attendance—some 53 to 55 per two-day meeting. The Board works. It is actively

engaged in a very important set of policy development processes which are focused on three main issues [standards for teacher knowledge and performance, teacher assessment, and related education policy and/or reform issues] that I mentioned.

Standards and Assessment

We have a working group of about one-third of the Board which is addressing the issue of the standards and certification process itself. That is, when we say that we will establish high and rigorous standards for what teachers must know and be able to do, what does that really mean? What are the domains of knowledge that should be expected of Board-certified, excellent teachers, and what kinds of standards should there be? What kind of specialization should there be within this system? I can't imagine only one generic Board-certified teacher—that is to say one kind that would cover all subject matters and levels; but we have not yet established the architecture of this system as to the numbers of specializations. It is possible to imagine some 15-20 different specializations, if you look at the grade levels, subject matters, and specializations that are present in the system in large numbers right now.

A second working group is looking at the issue of assessment methods and process. In this instance we have much to learn from the other professions that already have years and in some cases decades of experience. In the case of the medical field, 75 years of experience have led to 22 or 23 different specializations. In every professional certification process, there is the need to define general education background and special subject matter. There is the need to translate that knowledge into a professional application. And, finally, there is the need to know how to perform the service that the profession stands for. So knowledge, competence, and capability to perform are common elements across all the professions. We have a lot to learn from the other professions.

We'll be hard at work conducting research that examines those fields as well as other possible sources of knowledge about methods of assessment. We will, of course, draw on the reforms in teacher policy or in the way in which states are licensing, paying, and rewarding teachers. We will look at research in the field of teaching behavior itself in order to be well informed and get the best minds in the country working on the development of the assessment products and instruments that we will use.

The Board has a small staff. It has offices in Detroit and Washington. Our operating budget this year is $1.5 million. It will require a period of several years, probably four to five, before we are able to bring the first assessments onto line. It is going to require most of 1988 for this Board to develop the first cut of its intended policies regarding the architecture of the system, the knowledge base, and the assessment methods that it chooses to pursue. We then will have a period of three or four years of intensive research and development and product development in order to bring a system of assessment onto line. All of that research work will cost a lot more money than the million and a half dollar operating budget level.

A given assessment could contain eight to ten different components in a given certification specialty. For example, in American history, one might expect several different periods of history each to be a separate component in which knowledge would be required. Board-certified teachers would also be expected to know how to teach that subject to all children, not just to certain kinds of children, and to know the pedagogical knowledge base relevant to delivery of that knowledge to children. To provide assessments for, say, ten different components in 20 different specialization areas, will cost an estimated $200,000 per component, which is two to three man-years of work per component. The arithmetic works out to some $40 million of research and development activity needed to produce 20 different specializations, certification, and assessment methods.

The Board, in order to raise those funds, is seeking a one-time commitment of the federal government for $25 million under the following three general stipulations: First, the funds would be restricted to research and development activity, and not to operating activity. Second, the federal funds would be drawn by us on a matching basis. That is, we would have to raise nonfederal dollars to get federal dollars. Third, the Board cannot accept the normal federal detailed control, contract by contract, of the allocation of these funds to the research community. It may be proper in other domains

but, in this instance, none of you in this room would want the United States Department of Education making detailed decisions about who will and who will not be the contractor to write the teaching standards. So we have pledged a wide variety of accountability schemes; a prestigious research and development advisory group; a variety of merit review procedures; publication of the results of our research; and a request for proposals procedure seeking broad participation in the education research community. We'll be following those practices as we go forward.

In addition to federal funds, we have a $5 million commitment from Carnegie Corporation of New York to get us started. We will be seeking additional substantial funds from national private foundations with an interest in education, as well as from state governments having an interest in furthering the research and development at the Board or those that are already engaged in the attempt to develop reforms in their own licensing procedures and want to participate with the Board in that area. Finally, we will at some point be asking for financial support from teachers themselves. So we have a big fundraising task ahead of us.

We had a hearing on federal funding for the Board before the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee on February 18 of this year. We were very pleased at that time that Gordon Ambach, speaking for CCSSO, and a superintendent from South Carolina, speaking for the American Association of School Administrators, indicated that it was in the national interest for the research and development activity of the type sponsored by the Board to receive federal financial support. Since that time the American Educational Research Association has indicated its support of our request for federal funds.

There is one final point that I would make. As we look at the issue of at-risk children in the country and at the myriad ways in which our work could have a positive or negative impact on your attempts to provide better education, there are three main strategies we will be following. One of these—the most central—is the substantive definition of what it is that teachers should know and be able to do. It is my hope, though not a matter of established Board policy, that the Board will expect Board-certified teachers to be able to teach their subject to all children and not just to certain segments of the American population.

A second major way in which we hope to be active in this area is on the issue of recruitment of new people into the teaching field. The Board cannot in and of itself do much about the recruitment of teachers, but we are positioned to be a leader among a coalition or partnership of many leadership groups that try to raise the visibility and salience of this issue to a very high level. We should all work to try to get the next president of the United States to commit to a national effort—a federal effort to be more precise—to encourage young people to enter teaching. Through some scheme of loans or scholarships we should encourage people to follow through and actually teach.

A third major issue that we will be concerned about is the issue of intrastate financial equity. As the numbers of Board-certified teachers multiply, there is almost certainly going to be interdistrict competition for these people, just as there now is interdistrict competition for each and every resource valued by the American people and by local school boards, superintendents, and teacher unions. As that interdistrict competition occurs, states will have a very important role in seeing to it that there is some equitable and fair access to Board-certified teachers within their states.

So our strategy boiled down is pretty simple. We hope to do a lot of things to develop better teachers in order to improve teaching. We think if we can have better teachers and better teaching, we will have better schools.

At-Risk Students: The Economic Implications, the Moral Challenge

Mary Hatwood Futrell
President
National Education Association

I am genuinely grateful for the opportunity to address this conference. I can think of no more important time for us—the representatives of such diverse constituencies within the education community—to meet together. I know of no more important time to remember that the ideals we share—the ideals that unite us—are far more important than the differences that sometimes threaten to divide us. I know of no more important time, not merely to discuss collaboration, but to exhibit collaboration.

There is real urgency to the task that confronts us. For each moment that we ask our at-risk students to wait for relief, to wait for help, to wait for the day when every school faculty member knows how to meet their academic and emotional needs, another child drifts toward despair. Another child falls through the cracks. Another child drops out of school and drops into the dark underbelly of American life.

I sometimes fear that we insulate ourselves from this painful reality. I sometimes fear that the phrase "at risk" has become so familiar a part of our vocabulary that it has lost its meaning, lost its capacity to ignite moral indignation. When we speak of 12 million at-risk students, that statistic, like the statistics on casualties that we listened to nightly during the Vietnam War, numbs our moral sensibilities. We have listened so long to talk of at-risk children that our analysis has become no more than an intellectual exercise, devoid of the outrage we ought to feel—devoid of compassion.

William Butler Yeats once wrote that "Too long a sacrifice can make the heart a stone." Let's not let that happen. We cannot allow the words "at risk" to become buzz words. We must remember that we are talking of children racked by pain, children who endure hunger that you and I have never known, children who live in alleyways, children who seek escape in alcohol and crack, children for whom suicide so often seems preferable to the slow death they feel approaching.

Interrupting the cycle of desperation that defines the life of the at-risk child will require the concerted efforts of all educators. And it will require a new alliance among K-12 teachers, administrators, university professors, university deans and presidents, and, yes, parents and the government.

I'm not saying, of course, that we will become one big happy family. I'm very much aware that getting the various constituencies that comprise the education community to agree on anything is a lot like trying to teach the Mormon Tabernacle Choir how to breakdance—or Michael Jackson to clog. Nonetheless, I believe our respective agendas are probably more similar than most people realize. While differences will persist, that is no reason why we cannot forge an alliance for educational progress.

I believe the first goal of this alliance must be not just to ponder plans, but to take action that brings relief to at-risk children and provides them with the quality education they need and deserve. But if we are to achieve this goal, we must meet several prerequisites that I now wish to outline.

A Change of Attitude

First, we must change our attitude toward those we today pronounce uneducable and those whose applications to institutions of higher education we so quickly stamp rejected. On this issue, I must inject a personal note. My mother, a widow with two young daughters, raised her children alone on the $15 a week she earned working as a maid and short-order cook. But she

never let adversity in any way dilute the emphasis she placed on education. I could have been defined as a multiple at-risk student, but my mother told me in no uncertain terms that poverty, race, gender, and peer pressure were never to be used as excuses for not achieving in school.

My teachers reinforced that message. They held high expectations—both academically and behaviorally. They were excellent teachers, powerful role models, and true professionals. Neither my mother nor my teachers were ever easy on me. If I misbehaved in class or slacked off in any way, I was dealt with firmly. Later, the same demanding standards greeted me at Virginia State College and George Washington University.

Then, as a teacher at Parker-Gray High School and later at George Washington High School in Alexandria, I spent my entire career working with at-risk children and children burdened by learning disabilities, poverty, family disruptions, discrimination, eroded self-esteem, negative attitudes—the list goes on and on. Perhaps the fact that I myself had been an at-risk child helped me understand and work with the students I taught for twenty years—everyone from gang leaders to teenage mothers to a boy whose family moved and did not tell him, to the honor roll student who became a drug addict. And, yes, I taught those students who were more impressed with the flashy cars, clothes, and jewelry of the local drug leaders than with school. These students, and the hundreds more I taught, represented all racial and ethnic groups, students who were second and third generation welfare recipients as well as students from families of affluence.

Most, but not all, wanted to learn. Many did not believe they could or did not try simply because they did not want to risk rejection again! A major part of my teaching strategy was to convince them that they could learn. To succeed with this task, I'd try anything. I supported them, encouraged them, cajoled them, and, when necessary, put the fear of God in them. My every effort aimed to help them believe in themselves—to help them see the light at the end of the tunnel—and to understand that the light was shining for them.

In retrospect, I'm convinced that what was critical throughout my schooling was the presence of teachers who believed in me and taught me to believe in myself. And that experience points, I believe, to fundamental difficulties at-risk students confront today: they have been taught not to believe in themselves. For far too many of these students, life has been a collection of rejection notices. And we add to that collection, often in a cavalier manner. We add one more hard knock to a life of hard knocks. Unwittingly, we further lower already low self-esteem. We further deepen already deep despair.

I know very well that institutions of education are not social service agencies. But I also know that a high percentage of K-12 and college faculty members can vividly recall chanting the refrain, "All we are saying is give peace a chance." I only wish that school officials at every level would paraphrase that rally cry and say, "Let's give potential a chance." It is my conviction—based on my experience as both student and teacher—that educating all students begins with the belief that all students are educable. And I believe this conviction must extend from preschool through graduate school. No exceptions allowed.

In my classroom—and I began my teaching in a segregated school—I could not have succeeded without the caring, the nurturing, I offered every student. But I also could not have succeeded without being firm, tough, and demanding. My expectations, both academic and behavioral, were clearly articulated. The rules were enforced firmly but fairly. I motivated students with praise, and I motivated them with high expectations. And, to be candid, we succeeded. In the last year alone, I have run into a former student who is now a bank vice president, another who is an accountant, another who is a nurse (she was the gang leader I referenced earlier), and—thank God—one who is a teacher.

Of course, I had an advantage that far too many of the graduates coming out of schools of education today do not have. I had not spent my practicum in a laboratory school where many of the students are the children of professors and other professionals in the community. I didn't have the liability—and I assure you it is a liability—of a practicum that exposed me only to students from secure families and students already motivated to learn.

Today, far too many aspiring teachers get their first taste of teaching late in the college prep program or in isolated settings. These experiences do little to prepare teachers for the real world of teaching. And that explains why so many graduates of our schools of education simply do not want to teach at-risk students. A couple of years ago I spoke to the education majors at a Maryland institution of higher education. One of the students asked me how one learns to teach inner-city school children or at-risk youth. My response was to say that the best way is to go into a school with at-risk students and teach.

If more teachers are to be willing and able to teach at-risk students, we simply cannot continue to offer them sterile experiences or experiences devoid of the harsher realities of today's classrooms. If present demographics prove accurate, we will find that in the twenty-first century—twelve short years from now—every teacher will have to teach at-risk children.

Minority Teachers

That assertion brings me to another prerequisite for effectively teaching at-risk students. By the year 2000, 35 percent of our nation's population will consist of minorities. But today, minority teachers comprise a mere eight percent of the K-12 teaching force. And that figure is projected to drop to three percent by the end of this century. Three percent minority teachers, 35 percent minority students. We have both a professional and a moral responsibility to reverse this trend. We owe all students a vision of the racial, ethnic, and religious mosaic that is America. We owe all students first-hand evidence that America's diversity is America's strength. We owe all students lessons in crosscultural understanding.

That means that the composition of our nation's teaching force must change dramatically—and change soon. We must recruit more high-ability students—and in particular more minority students—into the teaching profession. And colleges and universities must assume the vanguard position in this campaign. I believe, for example, that colleges must recognize just how much present practices prematurely halt the college careers of Hispanic students. The entry rate for Hispanics into two-year community colleges and junior colleges is impressive, but the rate of successful transition to four-year institutions is depressing. This trend is best explained by inadequate efforts to retain Hispanic students, and by inadequate or nonexistent efforts of four-year colleges to recruit Hispanic students.

We cannot condone this failure. All of us—but in particular the faculty and administrators at four-year colleges—must accept responsibility for helping black and Hispanic students make a successful transition to four-year institutions. Four-year colleges, I submit, must establish outreach programs. If they do not, they will help perpetuate a pattern that excludes all but a tiny fraction of minority students from the teaching force.

Linkages between Colleges

The third prerequisite in my list is closely related to the second: I believe that predominantly white colleges have a responsibility to establish links to traditionally black colleges. They should not interfere, but they should intervene, with resources, cooperative projects, and systematic efforts to share ideas and insights.

I have listened long and I believe I have listened well to expressions of concern for black institutions, the institutions that graduate 45 percent of all black educators. Yes, there is a lot of talk. Unfortunately, there is also a lot of posturing. And I believe posturing must give way to real commitment. For it would, I believe, be tragic if black schools of education met the same fate as black schools of medicine. Today, only two black medical schools remain—Howard and Meharry.

We would do well, when reflecting on that fact, to recall Santayana's oft-quoted warning that, "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it."

Economically, we cannot afford that repetition. And morally, we cannot justify that repetition. If we remain passive while black schools of education struggle through hard times, we will see the further "enwhitenment" of the K-12 teaching. And we shall then see all children, but especially minority children, deprived of powerful role models, deprived of the pride they could feel when they realize that a quality education can lead to a position of respect in society.

Can we avert this pattern of deprivation? The answer is yes—but only if college and K-12 personnel work together to improve the learning we offer at-risk children, and work to change both the racial and ethnic composition of America's teaching force.

Collaboration among Educators

This imperative generates another prerequisite we must meet. I have already said that our nation's at-risk population consists disproportionately of minority students. That is true. But these minority students are not alone. By far the greatest number of children who live in poverty are not black or brown or yellow or red. They are white. We deceive ourselves if we view poverty as a problem confined to the ghettos and barrios that scar the American landscape.

Our actions must ensure that all at-risk students receive the counseling and tutorial services that will prepare them for demanding teacher preparation programs. The pipeline to success as a college student and later as a classroom teacher must be clearly articulated. Students must receive the encouragement, the support, and the academic preparation they need to enter and complete demanding college programs. The higher education community cannot and must not shuffle off this task to K-12 practitioners. The campus must not become a refuge from responsibility.

If strategies for meeting the needs of at-risk children are to be successful, they must be the joint products of K-12 teachers, administrators, teacher educators, deans of schools of education, and presidents of colleges and universities.

Meeting the responsibility to educate all children—not some, not most, but *all* children—demands meeting still another prerequisite. It demands seeing to it that schools of education do not remain the neglected stepchildren within our colleges and universities. We need university leadership that places departments of education at the center of university life—leadership that directs other departments—science departments, for instance—to bolster the education curriculum. Leadership that directs education faculty to spend time in K-12 schools and makes this requirement an integral part of their responsibilities.

I also believe university presidents ought to make sure their schools of education meet high accreditation standards, especially those set by the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE). NCATE is a proven, effective quality control mechanism for teacher preparation programs. The NCATE message is very simple. Excellence in education begins with excellence in teaching. And excellence in teaching begins with excellence in teacher education.

NCATE standards, incidentally, specify that graduates of teacher education programs must take courses that develop multicultural understanding and must, during their practicum, work with students from mixed socioeconomic backgrounds. This requirement is essential. Every teacher must be comfortable with at-risk students. They must understand the special problems that too often limit the ability of these students to realize their full potential. They must understand:

> How to make the classroom a place where all children know they are welcome;
>
> How to distinguish between the slow learner and the learner suffering from eroded self-confidence;
>
> How to determine if a student's poor performance stems from a lack of motivation or a lack of nutrition;
>
> How to tell the difference between a student who is lazy and a student who is on drugs;
>
> How to elevate self-esteem;
>
> How to motivate;
>
> How to remember, in the midst of the most hassle-filled day, that "in every child who is born, the potential of the human race is born again." (James Agee)

The knowledge of how to help victimized children, at-risk children, and the strategies needed to transform this knowledge into action, are the centerpieces—or at least ought to be the

centerpieces—of teacher preparation programs. And this requires meeting a prerequisite in research.

Research

Research should be presented in a user-friendly manner that facilitates the efforts of K-12 teachers to transform education policy, restructure schools, and develop a more effective instructional program. If university and college researchers are to meet this critical need, they must no longer be only occasional visitors to K-12 schools. To be effective, they must come to where the action is, come to where teachers teach. In fact, it would be best if they had joint appointments at a university and at a local K-12 school. I do not wish to be pessimistic about the research community. But I must admit, in all honesty, that I don't know how researchers can help improve schools they've never seen or that they see only for a few hours each semester.

I believe we may want to give some thought, within the discipline of education, to blurring the line of demarcation between K-12 and higher ed personnel. For what purpose do I advocate this shake-up? In order to at last make real progress on research-related issues that have for too long been dominated by mythology and ideology.

Let me outline just three areas in which we need research that is better conceived, better disseminated, and better publicized.

First, bilingual education. We know, contrary to what some would have us believe, that bilingual programs are not educational frills. But the depressing fact is that at present our knowledge counts for very little. Research has already confirmed the tenet that we will never unleash the potential of language minority students unless we empower these students. But that advice is vague. We need advice that is specific, that translates into instructional strategies.

I know that many of you will tell me the literature on this topic is abundant. Well, my colleagues haven't seen it, and what little we have seen usually consists of 28 pages that explain methodology, one page that presents results (usually in something resembling algebraic notation), and then 15 pages of footnotes.

Second, we need research on class size—research that is driven by a commitment to objectivity rather than a commitment to a right-wing political agenda.

Let me pause for a moment on this issue. When I reflect on the issue of class size, I don't think exclusively in terms of student-teacher ratios. I think instead of learning opportunities lost, of children cheated in my time, of those moments when the right word of encouragement left a permanent imprint that had a permanent effect.

Overcrowded classrooms can undercut even the most caring intentions and the most well-crafted lesson plans. The statistics don't tell us that. They don't tell us of the damage to young minds. They don't tell us what Ted Sizer has so beautifully expressed: "The ultimate stuff of school," says Sizer, "is not test scores or catching up with the Japanese or beating the Russians. It is people—struggling, unpredictable, even messy individuals. You can love them all, but you have to love them *one by one*."

That statement points to a third area where research is critical. I'm referring to tracking—to the ability grouping that exposes gifted and talented students to rigorous academic material—and exposes students alleged to have lesser ability to rules and restrictions that make teaching resemble babysitting.

Is there an alternative to tracking? Can this process be fixed or should it be scrapped? Right now, we don't know. But we do know that tracking, as it exists at present, stigmatizes students. We know the process is misused and abused. We need to know more. And we better know it soon. School-based, not university-based, researchers could uncover the information we need. Finally, we need research on the plight of homeless children.

Political Action

But this issue actually brings me to another prerequisite for the effective education of at-risk children. We need political action. We need higher education faculty and administrators to become powerful advocates for children, and we need to see that power have an impact on local governments, on state legislatures, on the U.S. Congress, and on the White House. Twenty-eight percent of all homeless Americans are children. Their numbers have passed the 750,000 mark and are edging each day toward one million. We must find a way to reach these children.

I believe all of us, regardless of our preference among the remaining presidential candidates, need to mobilize ourselves behind a proposal set forth by Jesse Jackson. Jackson has said that our nation must have an education budget that includes $6 billion for a new office of preschool education. For as Reverend Jackson has said, "A good education is a much better investment in democratic values than covert wars in impoverished lands." To which I would add, let's give money to America's children, not to Nicaraguan contras. Let's give a fair deal to America's children, not a military deal to Iranian terrorists.

These examples of areas where we need the assistance of the chief state school officers in each state and the higher education community throughout the nation prompted me to announce, last month, a major NEA program to reinvigorate the education reform movement. This July, at our NEA convention in New Orleans, I will ask all NEA state affiliates to meet with their state school officials and state legislators and, together, designate one entire school district in every state as an experimental, living laboratory to fundamentally restructure America's schools.

Those 50 districts would be free to turn their school systems upside down or inside out. They would be free to open their school doors to three- or four-year-olds; end the arbitrary division of class periods into 50-minute chunks; erase the divisions among academic disciplines; or create district-wide, site-based management programs.

I very much hope the entire education community will become partners in this bold venture. For you and I know, unlike the administration in Washington, that excellence costs. And you and I know what mediocrity costs. That price is high. That price is prohibitive. And if we are not to pay that price, we must act boldly and we must act now. For the education of every child—once a noble cause—is today a political, a social, and above all an economic imperative.

Unity Among Educators

You and I can help America meet that imperative. But there's a final prerequisite, which I can summarize in a single word: unity. Rescuing children from risk demands unity within the entire education community. I refer often in my travels around the country to the education family. Quite frankly, the time has come to start acting like family. Only then can we meet the prerequisites I have outlined. We must recognize that education is indivisible. Expressed less formally, we need to remember we're all in the same boat.

As a K-12 teacher, I say to you that the kindergarten teacher facing a crowded classroom is every educator's problem. The secondary school teacher struggling with the deplorable condition of our inner-city schools is every educator's problem. The academic researcher who seeks in vain adequate funding sources is every educator's problem. And the at-risk child is every educator's problem—and every educator's responsibility.

Let us not dodge that responsibility. Let us not deny that responsibility. Let each of us instead say, as President Kennedy said during an earlier time of crisis, "I do not shrink from this responsibility. I welcome it."

Minority Youth and School Success

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For nearly two decades now I have conducted comparative research on minority education in the United States and other societies. One of the challenging features of minority education in all the countries I have studied is the variability in the school performance of minority groups. Even though almost all minorities face language and cultural barriers and are discriminated against in school and society, some are relatively academically successful while others are not. And within a given minority group that is on the whole relatively unsuccessful, some are more successful than others. In the comparative research I have sought to determine why some minority groups are more successful than others. In recent years I have begun to examine more closely why some members are more successful than others within the same less academically successful minority group. The purpose of this paper is to discuss the findings of the comparative research thus far.

Variability in Minority Youths' School Success: Intergroup Differences

It is generally well known within the United States that Asian Americans do better in school than other minorities. The evidence comes from both national and local studies. One example of the national studies is that of Coleman and Campbell who reported in the mid-1960s that Asian Americans had higher test scores than black Americans, American Indians, Mexican Americans, and Puerto Ricans on reading, verbal skills, and math (Coleman et al. 1966). Another is the 1980-81 results of SAT scores reported in 1982 in which Asian Americans outperformed other minorities (Slade 1982). Local studies produce evidence pointing to the same direction of higher achievement by Asian Americans. An example is my own study of black Americans, Chinese, Filippinos, Japanese, Mexican Americans, and white Americans in Stockton, California (Ogbu 1974). In that study I found that the Chinese, Filippinos, and Japanese did much better than blacks and Mexican Americans. In another study, Gibson (1988) found that in Valleyside, California, Punjabi Indian high school students were doing considerably better than Mexican-American students at the same school.

There is now evidence that minority youths' school success is not limited to Asian Americans. The evidence for this is coming from recent studies of various Hispanic groups and other non-Asians. For example, in his study in the Mission District of San Francisco, Suarez-Orozco found that the youths from Central and South America were doing much better in school than black and Mexican-American students (Suarez-Orozco, in press). In her study of Japanese, Mexican-American, and Mexicano high school students in Watsonville, California, Matute-Bianchi discovered that the Mexicanos seemed to do better than the Chicanos (Matute-Bianchi 1986). And in a study of school dropouts in a southwestern city, Valverde found that it was the native-born Mexican Americans, not the Mexicanos, who had a greater proportion of school dropouts (Valverde 1987). Other studies, such as those of Fernandez and Nielsen (1984) and Woolard (1981) point to the same conclusion, that children from Mexico appear to be more successful than the native-born Mexican Americans.[1]

Turning to Britain and other societies one finds a similar variability in the school performance of minority youths. In Britain, for example, East Asian students do considerably better in school than West Indian students, even though the former are less fluent in English than the latter (Ogbu 1978; Tomlinson 1982). In New

Zealand, the native Maori language and cultural minorities do less well in school than the immigrant Polynesians who share similar culture and language with the Maoris (Penfold 1981).

In my comparative research I have also come across instances where cultural and language minorities actually do better in school than the majority youths. This situation has been reported for Spain (Woolard 1981) and Malaysia (Mat Nor 1983; Wan Zahid 1978). In Spain, according to Woolard, the Catalan language minorities are more successful in school and proportionately more represented at the University of Barcelona than the majority Castilian speakers; and this is the case in spite of generations of social and legal suppression of Catalan language. In Malay where postcolonial educational reforms have centered on language issues, Malay has replaced English as the language of instruction at all levels. In spite of this, the cultural and language minorities, namely Chinese and Indians, continue to be more successful in school than the majority Malay speakers.

One conclusion I have reached from comparative research is that differences in school performance of minority groups are not due to mere differences in culture and language: some minority groups do well in school even though they do not share the language and culture of the dominant group that are reflected in the curriculum contents, instructional styles, and other practices of the schools. This conclusion is reinforced by two other observations from the crosscultural research. One is that in some instances the minority groups that are more different in culture and language from the dominant group are actually the ones that are more successful in school. For example, I have already noted studies showing that youths from Mexico appear more successful than Chicano youths, even though the former are more distant from the Anglos and the public school in terms of language and culture (Fernandez and Nielsen 1984; Matute-Bianchi 1986; Valverde 1987; Woolard 1981). In Britain the West Indians are closer to the dominant group in language and culture, but the more successful youths are East Asian students (Ogbu 1978). The Koreans in Japan are a good example of the case where cultural similarities do not necessarily lead to minority youths' school success. Due to a common Confucian world view, the Japanese and Koreans share many cultural features, including patterns of intrafamily relationships, childrearing practices, and value of and attitudes toward formal education and respect for teachers. But in spite of these similarities in culture, Korean minorities do not do well in school.

The other observation is that in some instances a minority group may be doing very poorly in school in its own country of origin and where its language and culture are similar to the language and culture of the dominant group. However, when members of the same minority group immigrate to another society where their language and culture may be more different, they appear to begin to do quite well in school. A good example of this is the case of the Japanese Buraku outcaste. In Japan itself, Buraku youths continue to do poorly in school when compared with the dominant Ippan youths. But in the United States Buraku youths do as well as other Japanese American youths (DeVos 1973; Ito 1967; Shimahara 1983). West Indians are reported to do poorly in school in Britain, a place they regard as their "mother country." In contrast, they do quite well in the United States (Fordham 1984) and in the U.S. Virgin Islands of St. Croix, places where they consider themselves immigrants (Gibson 1982).

Another major conclusion I have come to from the comparative research is that in nearly all cases, the minorities that are more successful in school are immigrants; and the less-successful minorities are non-immigrants. I have used the terms *immigrant minorities* and *involuntary minorities* to designate the more successful and less successful minorities respectively.

Intragroup Variability in Academically Less Successful Minority Groups: The Case of Black Americans

Within a given minority group some students are more academically successful than others. So here, too, there is a variability, but at the individual level. In the less academically successful minority groups the variability in the school performance of individual youths is not easily explained in terms of conventional variables of social class, ability differences, or cultural and language differences. I will illustrate what I mean by describing two unique features of black American youths' school performance.

One of the two unique features is that social class variables do not appear strongly correlated with academic achievement among black youths as they are among white Americans and among such voluntary minorities as Asian Americans. A good example of this weak correlation is found in the analysis of California Assessment Program test scores for 1987. Both at grade eight and grade twelve, the relationships between black youths' test scores and the education of their parents is not particularly strong and not always positive. Thus, black youths whose parents had completed four years or more of college consistently did less well, on the average, than other black youths whose parents had had only some college education but did not complete the degree (Haycock and Navarro, 1988). Another example is the study of the social and academic adjustment of black and Chicano students at the University of California at Los Angeles. The researchers found that social class background was very weakly related to the academic performance of black students, with only the mother's education and high school grades having some significant effects (Oliver, Rodriguez, and Mickelson 1985).

Nor does ability relate strongly to the school success of black American youths. Consider the academic careers of black children who are identified in the second and third grades as gifted and talented. Studies often show that by their junior or senior high school period, the supposed high ability of these children is not reflected in their school performance in any predictable manner. This is well illustrated by a study in one school in the San Francisco Bay area (Commady 1987). Another study of 33 black youths in the eleventh grade in Washington, D.C. points to the same problem. Among these students, those who are academically successful and those who are not could not be distinguished by differences in ability; they had similar scores on standardized tests of ability (Fordham and Ogbu 1986).

Explaining the Variability in Minority Youths' School Success

Several explanations have been proposed to account for the variability in the school success of minority youths. Jensen, for example, has claimed that black Americans are less successful in school than white Americans because they are not endowed with the type of genes that enhance white "intelligence" for school success (1969). But Jensen's theory cannot explain why the Japanese Buraku outcastes in Japan do less well than the Ippan in Japan but in the United States both groups are quite successful. Some have argued that cultural and language differences create conflicts in teaching and learning situations, and that these conflicts, in turn, adversely affect the school success of minority children (Erickson and Mohatt 1982; Gumperz 1981). Again, the proponents of this view do not explain why and how other minorities in similar situations manage to cross cultural and language boundaries and do relatively well in school (Gibson 1988; Suarez-Orozco, in press).

Some social scientists promote the view that the academic problems of minorities and lower-class children, the so-called children/students "at risk," are due to social class variables. It is said, for example, that black children do less well in school than white children because more blacks than whites come from lower-class or "underclass" backgrounds (Bond 1981; van den Berghe 1980; Wilson 1980). Middle-class blacks are said to be successful in school like their white middle-class counterparts. Unfortunately this argument is not supported by available research evidence. Research generally shows that at any given class level, black students, on the average, do less well than their white counterparts (Jensen 1969; Slade 1982; Wigdor and Garner 1982). Furthermore, I have indicated above that the academic achievement gap between the lower class and the middle class is smaller among black students and that black students' school success is not strongly correlated with parent education and income or socioeconomic status.

These and other explanations may be self-consistent and satisfactory to their proponents, but from a comparative perspective I find them lacking in three ways. One is that they ignore the historical and wider societal forces that can encourage or discourage the minorities from striving for school success. Another is that they do not consider the collective basis of orientation toward schooling and striving for school success. They assume that school success is a matter of family background and individual ability and effort. And thirdly, the theories fail to consider the minorities' own notions of the meaning and the how of schooling in the context of their own social reality.

Thus, proponents of these explanations make no attempt to understand why minorities behave the way they do from the *points of view of the minorities*; instead, they have been busy evaluating the behaviors of the minorities from white middle-class perceptions and interpretations of their own social reality or from their perceptions and intepretations of the minorities' social reality. And so, current explanations of the variability in the school performance of minority youths have been constructed without the benefit of what the minorities think. From my point of view, they cannot adequately account for the variability in the school performance of black and white youths from similar social class backgrounds or the variability in the school performance of minority groups who experience cultural and language differences/conflicts in school, nor can they explain the variability in the school performance of members of the same minority group from the same social class background, such as the variability in the school performance of black students from the same social class background. I want to suggest that to construct a more adequate explanation of the variability in the school success of minority youths it is necessary to incorporate the perceptions and interpretations or understandings that blacks and other minorities have of their social realities and schooling. Toward this end, I would suggest the concept of a cultural model as a useful tool.

What is a Cultural Model?

I will define a cultural model as an understanding that a people have of their universe—social, physical, or both—as well as their understanding of their own behaviors in that universe. The cultural model of a population serves its members as a guide in their interpretations of events and elements within that universe; it also serves as a guide to their expectations and actions in that univerrse or environment. Furthermore, the cultural model underlies their folk theories or folk explanations of recurrent circumstances, events, and situations in various domains of life. It is used by members of the population to organize their knowledge about recurrent events and situations. Members of a society or its segments develop a cultural model from collective historical experiences or collective problems and collective efforts to resolve such problems. The cultural model is sustained or modified by subsequent events or experiences in their universe. The cultural model has both instrumental and expressive dimensions as well as an ideological component (Figure 1).

In a pluralistic society like the United States, different segments of the society, such as the dominant white segment and the ethnic/racial minority segments, tend to have their own cultural models—their respective understandings of how the United States society or any particular domain or institution "works" and their respective places in that working order. The cultural model of the dominant group, like the cultural model of a given minority group, is neither right nor wrong; it is neither better nor worse than others. But, as Bohannon has put it in his study of the justice system among the Tiv in colonial Nigeria, "The folk systems (or cultural models) are *never* right or wrong" (Bohannon 1957:5). They exist to guide behaviors and interpretations.

In the domain of education or schooling in the United States, the cultural model of the white middle class co-exists with those of black Americans, American Indians, Mexican Americans, and other minorities. The cultural model of each group provides its members with the framework for intepreting educational events, situations, and experiences and guides their behaviors in the schooling context. Thus, the cultural model is implicated to some extent in the relative academic success or failure of the members of each group. Thus, while the theories reviewed earlier may be self-consistent and satisfactory to their proponents, they do not necessarily reflect the realities they attempt to explain because they do not include the cultural models of the minorities and their consequences for the academic behaviors of the minorities (Ogbu 1974).

Emerging Explanation from Comparative Research

Based on findings from comparative research I will argue in the remainder of this presentation that what distinguishes minority groups that are doing relatively well in school from others that are not doing so well is not that the former possess a particular type of genetic endowment; not that they inhabit a cultural environment which enables them to develop the type of cognitive, linguistic, motivational, and socio-emotional

attributes characteristic of the white middle class; not that they attend schools that are without defects, although that is important; not that they experience no economic, political, or other discriminatory treatment at the hands of white Americans; and not that they encounter no cultural and language barriers in the public schools. Rather, the more academically successful minorities differ from the less academically successful minorities because of the cultural model or understanding they have of the workings of American society and their place, as minorities, in that working order. The type of cultural model or understanding held by the academically successful minorities is more conducive to school success. I will argue that the differences in the cultural models are due to differences in the histories of the minorities. I will argue, too, that within a given minority group, the variability in school success is due to differences in the influence of the cultural model on individuals.

Minority Status and Cultural Models

There are two forms of historical forces that shape the different cultural models of minority groups that are relatively successful in school and the minority groups that are not. One is the initial terms of the incorporation of the minorities into the United States society; the other is the pattern of response that the minority groups made to subsequent discriminatory treatment by white Americans. The relationship between these factors and the cultural models is indicated in Figure 1.

Initial Terms of Incorporation into the U. S. Society

Minority groups have been incorporated into the United States society either voluntarily or involuntarily. Those who have been incorporated voluntarily are immigrants. Immigrant minorities are people who have moved more or less voluntarily to the United States because they believed that this would lead to more economic well-being, better overall opportunities, or greater political freedom. These expectations continue to influence the way they perceive and respond to treatment by white Americans and by the institutions controlled by the latter. The Chinese in Stockton, California, and Punjabis in Valleyside, California, are respresentative examples (Gibson 1988; Ogbu 1974).

In contrast, non-immigrants whom I will designate as *involuntary minorities* are people who initially were brought into the United States society through slavery, conquest, or colonization. They usually resent the loss of their former freedom, and they perceive the social, political, and economic barriers against them as a part of undeserved oppression. American Indians, black Americans, Mexican Americans in the southwestern United States, and native Hawaiians are United States examples. Similar minorities exist in Japan, namely the Buraku outcastes and Japan's Koreans; they also exist in New Zealand, namely the Maoris (Ogbu 1978).

Response to Subsequent Discriminatory Treatment

Both immigrant and involuntary minorities experience prejudice and discrimination at the hands of white Americans. Both may, for example, be relegated to menial jobs, confronted with social and political barriers, and given inferior education. Both may face intellectual and cultural derogation as well as exclusion from true assimilation into the mainstream of American life (Figure 2). Confronted with these collective problems the immigrants and the involuntary minorities tend to interpret them differently. These responses constitute part of the contents of the cultural models.

The immigrants appear to interpet the economic, political, and social barriers against them as more or less temporary problems, as problems they will overcome or can overcome with passage of time and with hard work, or by obtaining more education. The immigrants often compare their situation in the United States with that of their former selves or of their peers "back home." When they make such comparisons they find much evidence to believe that they have more and better opportunities in the United States for themselves or for their children. Due to this positive dual status mobility frame of reference, the immigrants think that even if they are allowed only marginal jobs they are better off in the U.S. than they would be in their homeland (Figure 3).

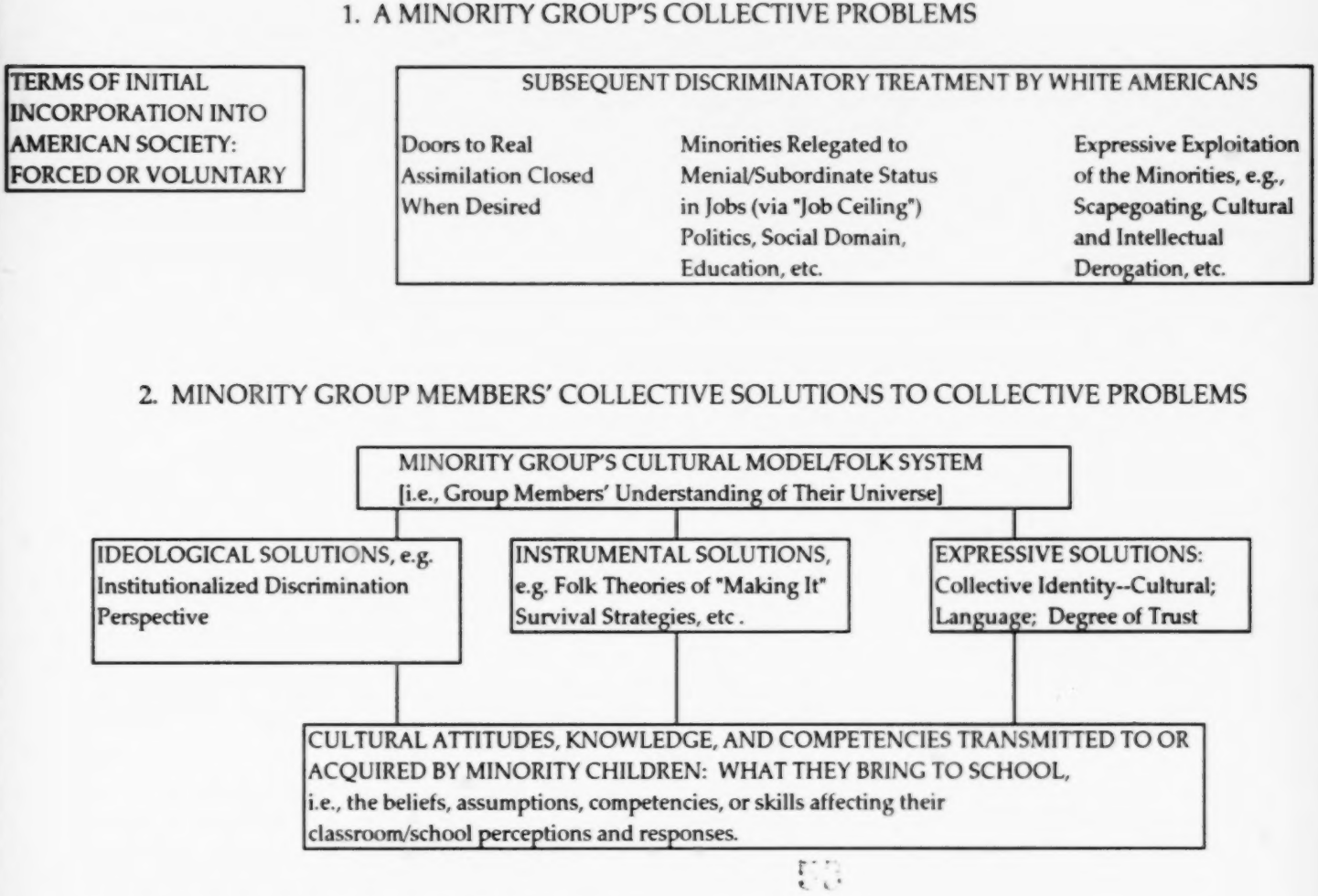

1. A MINORITY GROUP'S COLLECTIVE PROBLEMS
TERMS OF INITIAL INCORPORATION INTO AMERICAN SOCIETY: FORCED OR VOLUNTARY
SUBSEQUENT DISCRIMINATORY TREATMENT BY WHITE AMERICANS
Doors to Real Assimilation Closed When Desired
Minorities Relegated to Menial/Subordinate Status in Jobs (via "Job Ceiling") Politics, Social Domain, Education, etc.
Expressive Exploitation of the Minorities, e.g., Scapegoating, Cultural and Intellectual Derogation, etc.
2. MINORITY GROUP MEMBERS' COLLECTIVE SOLUTIONS TO COLLECTIVE PROBLEMS
MINORITY GROUP'S CULTURAL MODEL/FOLK SYSTEM
[i.e., Group Members' Understanding of Their Universe]
IDEOLOGICAL SOLUTIONS, e.g. Institutionalized Discrimination Perspective
INSTRUMENTAL SOLUTIONS, e.g. Folk Theories of "Making It" Survival Strategies, etc .
EXPRESSIVE SOLUTIONS: Collective Identity--Cultural; Language; Degree of Trust
CULTURAL ATTITUDES, KNOWLEDGE, AND COMPETENCIES TRANSMITTED TO OR ACQUIRED BY MINORITY CHILDREN: WHAT THEY BRING TO SCHOOL,
i.e., the beliefs, assumptions, competencies, or skills affecting their classroom/school perceptions and responses.

Figure 1. Differential minority "solutions" to collective problems

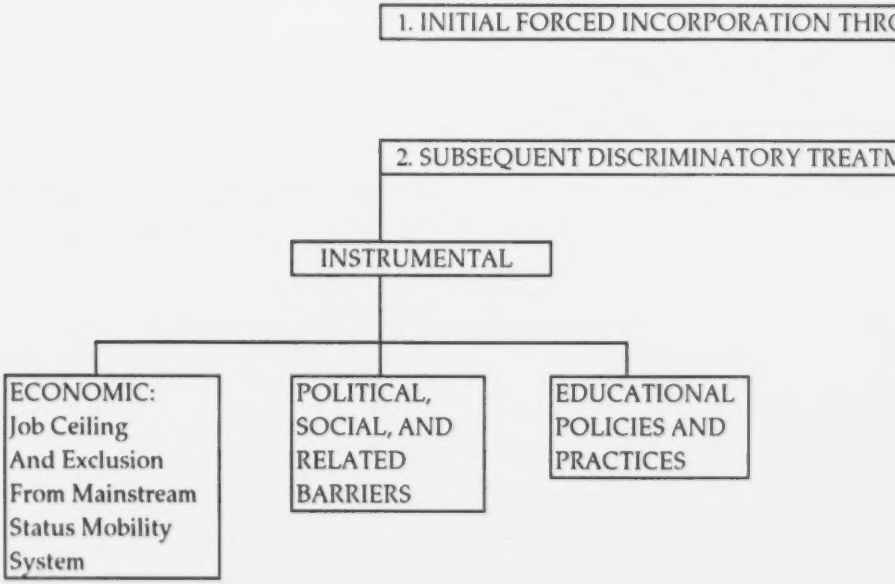
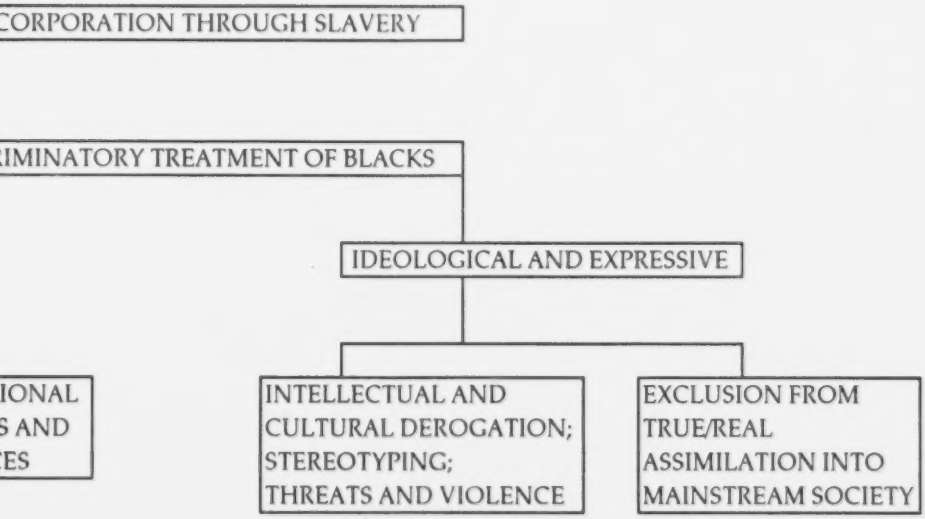

1. INITIAL FORCED INCORPORATION THRO
2. SUBSEQUENT DISCRIMINATORY TREATM
INSTRUMENTAL
ECONOMIC: Job Ceiling And Exclusion From Mainstream Status Mobility System
POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND RELATED BARRIERS
EDUCATIONAL POLICIES AND PRACTICES

Figure 2. Collective problems faced by black Americans


CORPORATION THROUGH SLAVERY
RIMINATORY TREATMENT OF BLACKS
IDEOLOGICAL AND EXPRESSIVE
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INTELLECTUAL AND CULTURAL DEROGATION; STEREOTYPING; THREATS AND VIOLENCE
EXCLUSION FROM TRUE/REAL ASSIMILATION INTO MAINSTREAM SOCIETY

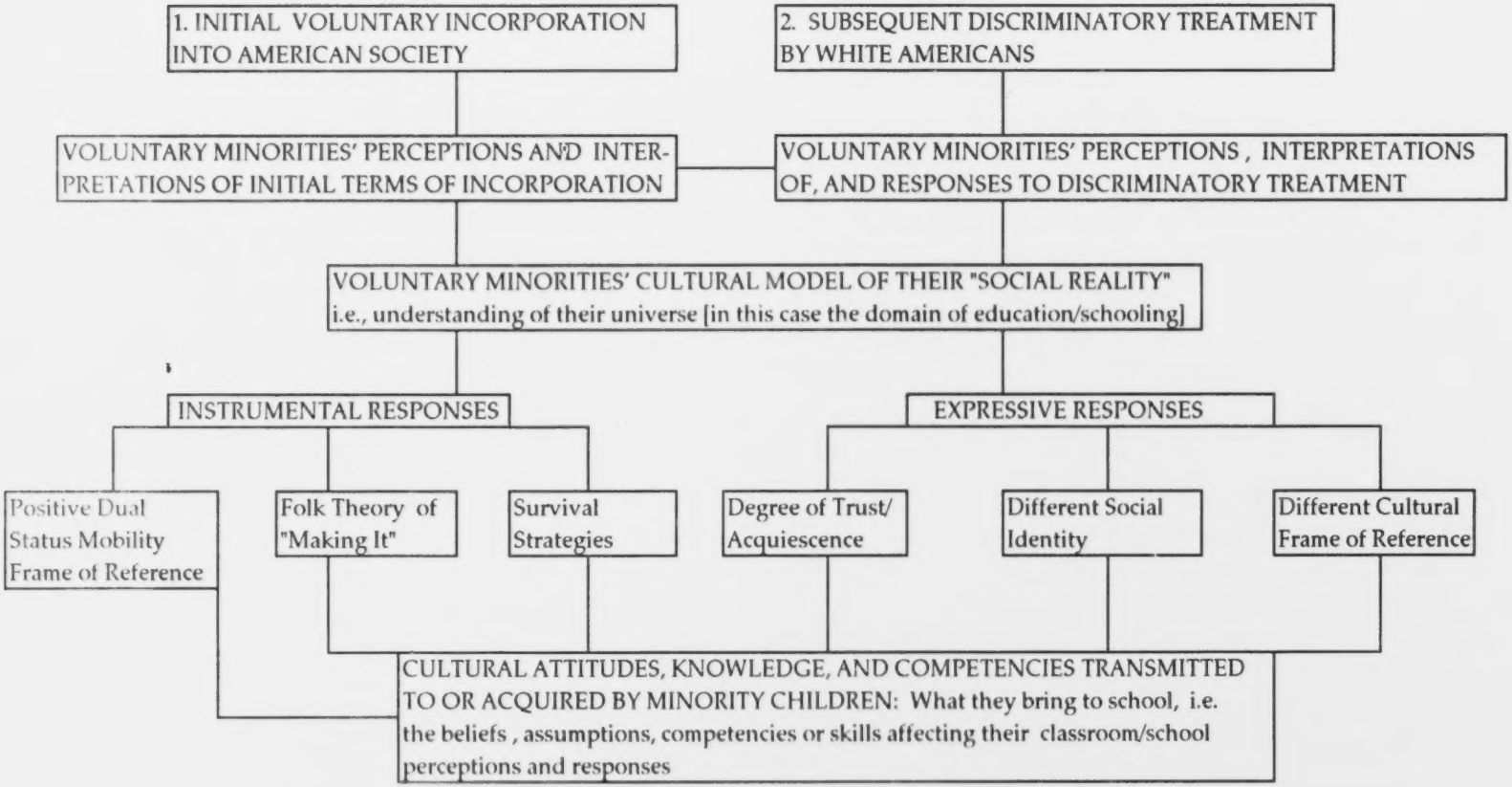

1. INITIAL VOLUNTARY INCORPORATION INTO AMERICAN SOCIETY
2. SUBSEQUENT DISCRIMINATORY TREATMENT BY WHITE AMERICANS
VOLUNTARY MINORITIES' PERCEPTIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS OF INITIAL TERMS OF INCORPORATION
VOLUNTARY MINORITIES' PERCEPTIONS , INTERPRETATIONS OF, AND RESPONSES TO DISCRIMINATORY TREATMENT
VOLUNTARY MINORITIES' CULTURAL MODEL OF THEIR "SOCIAL REALITY"
i.e., understanding of their universe [in this case the domain of education/schooling]
INSTRUMENTAL RESPONSES
EXPRESSIVE RESPONSES
Positive Dual Status Mobility Frame of Reference
Folk Theory of "Making It"
Survival Strategies
Degree of Trust/ Acquiescence
Different Social Identity
Different Cultural Frame of Reference
CULTURAL ATTITUDES, KNOWLEDGE, AND COMPETENCIES TRANSMITTED TO OR ACQUIRED BY MINORITY CHILDREN: What they bring to school, i.e. the beliefs , assumptions, competencies or skills affecting their classroom/school perceptions and responses

Figure 3. Cultural model and the school adjustment and performance of voluntary minorities

Furthermore, the immigrants may interpret their exclusion from better jobs as a result of their status as "foreigners," or because they do not speak the English language well, or because they were not educated in the United States. As a result of these perceptions and interpretations, the immigrants tend to adopt what they understand to be the folk theory of getting ahead among the white middle class and try to behave accordingly. And they do so sometimes even in the face of barriers against them in the opportunity structure. The immigrants do not necessarily bring such a folk theory from their homeland; they often accept the white middle class theory when they arrive in the United States (Suarez-Orozco, in press).

The immigrants develop survival strategies to cope with some of their problems. In terms of barriers in the opportunity structure, the survival strategies include the option of returning to their former homeland or emigrating to other societies. It may also include exploiting economic resources which are not wanted by members of the dominant group or other members of the host society.

The response of immigrant minorities to cultural and language differences is influenced by the fact that they arrive in the United States with prior differences in culture and language from the dominant group. I have therefore designated the immigrants as characterized by *primary cultural/language differences* (Ogbu 1982). The differences between the cultural systems of the immigrants and the cultural systems of the dominant group members of their host society/white Americans already existed before the immigrants came to the United States. Punjabi Indians in Valleyside, California, for example, spoke Punjabi, practiced the Sikh, Hindu, or Moslem religion, had arranged marriages, and males wore turbans before they came to the United States where they continued these beliefs and practices to some extent. These cultural beliefs and practices sometimes cause diffculties for the Punjabis at school and in their relationship with mainstream society in general/whites. The Punjabis, however, interpret some of the cultural and language differences as barriers they have to overcome in order to achieve the goals of their emigration to the United States. And they try to overcome them by learning selectively the language and cultural features of the mainstream, without interpreting their behavior as giving up their own culture and language.

I will characterize the immigrants' perceptions and interpretations of their behavior in this regard as similar to the perceptions and interpretations of French lessons taken by Americans who are planning on going to Paris on vacation. An American who is planning on a vacation in Paris but does not yet speak French realizes that in order to enjoy his or her vacation he or she would have to study French. The would-be vacationer usually embarks on learning French and in the course of doing so, he or she does not interpret his or her action as a threat to his or her cultural or language identity. He or she thinks that he or she is merely acquiring a second language or an additional language to achieve a specific goal—to enjoy a forthcoming vacation. In sum, the immigrant comes to the United States with prior cultural differences and ideal cultural ways of behaving and communicating, i.e., he or she comes with a different cultural frame of reference. Because he interprets the cultural differences as barriers to be overcome, the immigrant sees the need to learn aspects of the mainstream culture, i.e., the necessity to participate in the cultural frame of reference of the dominant group, without perceiving such participation as a threat to his own minority culture or language.

With regard to *social or collective identity*, the immigrants bring with them a sense of who they are which they had before immigration. They perceive their social identity as different rather than as oppositional vis-à-vis the social identity of white Americans. And they seem to retain this social identity at least during the first generation, even though they are learning the English language and other aspects of American mainstream culture.

One other element distinguishing the cultural model of the immigrants is *degree of trust* that the minorities have for white Americans and the societal institutions the latter control. The immigrants appear to acquiesce and to rationalize the prejudice and discrimination against them by saying, for example, that they are "strangers in a foreign land [and] have no choice but to tolerate prejudice and discrimination" (Gibson 1988). In the case of their relationship with the schools the immigrants tend to rationalize their

accommodation by saying that they came to the United States to give their children the opportunity to get an American education. Furthermore, the immigrants frequently find their relationship with the public schools to be "better" than their relationship with the schools in their own countries. They speak favorably of the fact that in the United States their children are given free textbooks and other supplies (Suarez-Orozco, in press).

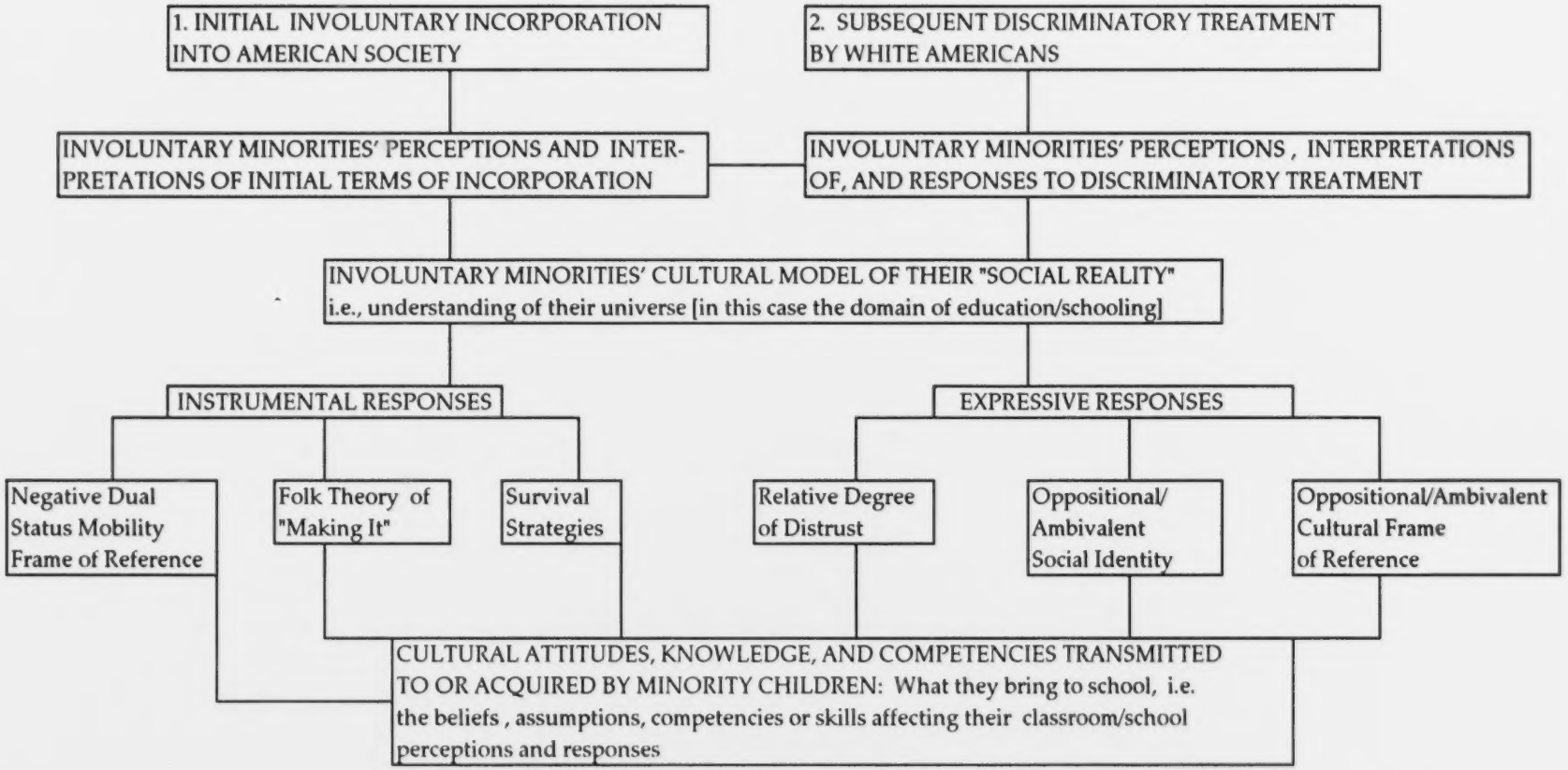
Involuntary minorities differ from the immigrants in their response to each of these dimensions. To begin with, they interpet the economic, social, and political barriers they encounter differently. Because they do not have a "homeland" situation to compare with the situation in the United States, they do not interpret their menial jobs and low wages as "better." Instead, they compare their present status with that of their white peers and when they do they usually conclude that they are worse off than they ought to be for no other reason than that they belong to a subordinate minority group. Nor do they see their situation as temporary. Quite to the contrary, they tend to interpret the discrimination against them as more or less permanent and institutionalized. Thus, involuntary minorities have a negative dual status mobility frame of reference (Figure 4).

In their folk theory of "making it," involuntary minorities often wish they could get ahead through education and ability like white Americans, but know they "can't." They have, therefore, usually come to realize or believe that it requires more than education and more than individual effort and hard work to overcome the barriers against them in the opportunity structure. Consequently, they develop a folk theory of getting ahead which differs from that of white Americans. And their folk theory tends to stress collective effort as providing the best chances for overcoming the barriers to get ahead.

Because involuntary minorities do not really believe that the societal rules for self-advancement work for them as they do for white Americans, they try to change the rules. They may, for example, try to change the criteria for school credentialing and for employment. One strategy that involuntary minorities like black Americans have effectively used to change those rules for advancement that work against them is "collective struggle." Collective struggle is one of several survival strategies that the minorities have developed to eliminate, lower, or circumvent the barriers they face in trying to get desirable jobs and to advance in other ways. Collective struggle includes what white Americans legitimate as "civil rights activities," but for the minorities it includes rioting and other forms of collective action that promise to increase opportunities or the pool of resources available to the minorities. Patron-client relationships or "Uncle Tomming" ("Tio Tacoing," etc.) is another survival strategy that was apparently common in the past. Other survival strategies include opting for sports, entertainment, hustling, pimping, and nowadays, drug dealing.

In terms of cultural/language response, involuntary minorities are characterized by secondary cultural difference systems. A secondary cultural system is one in which the cultural differences arise *after* the group has become an involuntary minority. In other words, involuntary minorities tend to develop certain beliefs and practices, including particular ways of communicating or speaking as coping mechanisms under subordination. These beliefs and practices may be new creations or they may be reinterpretations of old ones. The secondary cultural system, on the whole, constitutes a new cultural frame of reference or ideal way of believing and acting which affirms one as a bona fide member of the group. Involuntary minorities perceive their cultural frame of reference not merely as different from but as oppositional to the cultural frame of reference of their white "oppressors." The cultural and language differences emerging under this condition also serve as a boundary-making mechanism. For this reason involuntary minorities do not interpret the language and cultural differences they encounter in school as barriers they have to overcome. Instead they interpret these differences as symbols of identity. Their cultural frame of reference gives them both a sense of collective or social identity and a sense of self-worth.

As for identity, involuntary minorities develop a new sense of peoplehood or social identity *after* their incorporation into United States society and because of their interpretation of subsequent discriminatory treatment, including denial of equal treatment and true admission into the mainstream society. In some cases involuntary minorities may develop a new sense of peoplehood because of forced integration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INVOLUNTARY MINORITIES' CULTURAL MODEL OF THEIR "SOCIAL REALITY" i.e., understanding of their universe [in this case the domain of education/schooling]
INSTRUMENTAL RESPONSES
EXPRESSIVE RESPONSES
Negative Dual Status Mobility Frame of Reference
Folk Theory of "Making It"
Survival Strategies
Relative Degree of Distrust
Oppositional/ Ambivalent Social Identity
Oppositional/Ambivalent Cultural Frame of Reference
CULTURAL ATTITUDES, KNOWLEDGE, AND COMPETENCIES TRANSMITTED TO OR ACQUIRED BY MINORITY CHILDREN: What they bring to school, i.e. the beliefs , assumptions, competencies or skills affecting their classroom/school perceptions and responses

Figure 4. Cultural model and the school adjustment and performance of involuntary minorities

into mainstream society (see Castile and Kushner 1981; DeVos 1967, 1984; Spicer 1966, 1971). Involuntary minorities also develop an oppositional social identity because they perceive and experience treatment by white Americans as collective and enduring. They appear to believe that they cannot expect to be treated like white Americans regardless of their individual differences in ability, training, or education; regardless of differences in place of origin or residence or differences in economic status or physical appearance (Green 1981).

Furthermore, involuntary minorities know that they cannot easily escape from their birth-ascribed membership in a subordinate and disparaged group by "passing" or by returning to "a homeland" (DeVos 1967; Ogbu 1984). They do not see their social identity as merely different from that of their white "oppressors" but rather as more or less oppositional to the social identity of white Americans. The oppositional identity combines with the oppositional or ambivalent cultural frame of reference to make crosscultural learning or "crossing cultural boundaries" more problematic for involuntary minorities: it appears that under this circumstance, crossing cultural boundaries or behaving in a manner regarded as falling under the white American cultural frame of reference is threatening to their minority identity and security as well as solidarity. Therefore individuals trying to behave like whites are discouraged by peer group pressures or "affective dissonance" (DeVos 1984).

Finally, involuntary minorities distrust white Americans and the institutions they control. In their history, involuntary minorities have witnessed many events that have left them with the feeling that they cannot trust white Americans and the institutions they control. The public schools, in particular, are not trusted to provide minority children with the "right education." Unlike the immigrants, involuntary minorities find no justification for the prejudice and discrimination against them in school and society other than the fact that they are disparaged minorities. Furthermore, unlike the immigrants, they more or less see the prejudice and discrimination as institutionalized and enduring. The discriminatory treatment and prejudice have, of course, been documented throughout the histories of the minorities and in all parts of the nation, especially in the case of black Americans (see Bond 1966; Kluger 1977; Ogbu 1978; Weinberg 1977).

In sum, the cultural models of immigrant or voluntary minorities and those of involuntary minorities differ in these key elements: a frame of reference for comparing present status and future possibilities; a folk theory of getting ahead, especially through education; collective identity; a cultural frame of reference for judging appropriate behavior and affirmation of group membership and solidarity; and the extent to which one might trust white Americans and the institutions like the schools they control.

The distinguishing beliefs and practices described above generate and reflect in the two types of minorities' distinctive cultural attitudes, cultural knowledge, and competencies. The cultural attitudes, knowledge, and competencies form a part of the body of folk curriculum transmitted to and acquired by minority children in the course of their normal development. I will now turn to show how the elements of the cultural model enter into the process of minority schooling to enhance or discourage school success.

Cultural Models and Minority Youths' School Success

It is important to state from the outset that there are at least three sources of influence on minority youths' school success (Figure 5). One is the wider societal opportunities and barriers; another is the within-school factors. In folk terminology these two sources are called "the system," as shown in Figure 6. The third source of influence consists of "community forces." Community forces are things arising from the minority community as a result of their folk or cultural model and its contents—things that are done to the individuals by others or by the individual to encourage or discourage school success. My argument is that it is the community forces that distinguish the academic striving of minorities that are not particularly successful. *The point to stress is that although I will be focusing on the role of "community forces" or cultural models in minority youths' school success and school failure, I do not downplay the role of "the system" in determining minority youths' school success and school failure (see Ogbu 1974, 1978).*

The contents of the cultural models of the minorities—status mobility frame, folk theory of

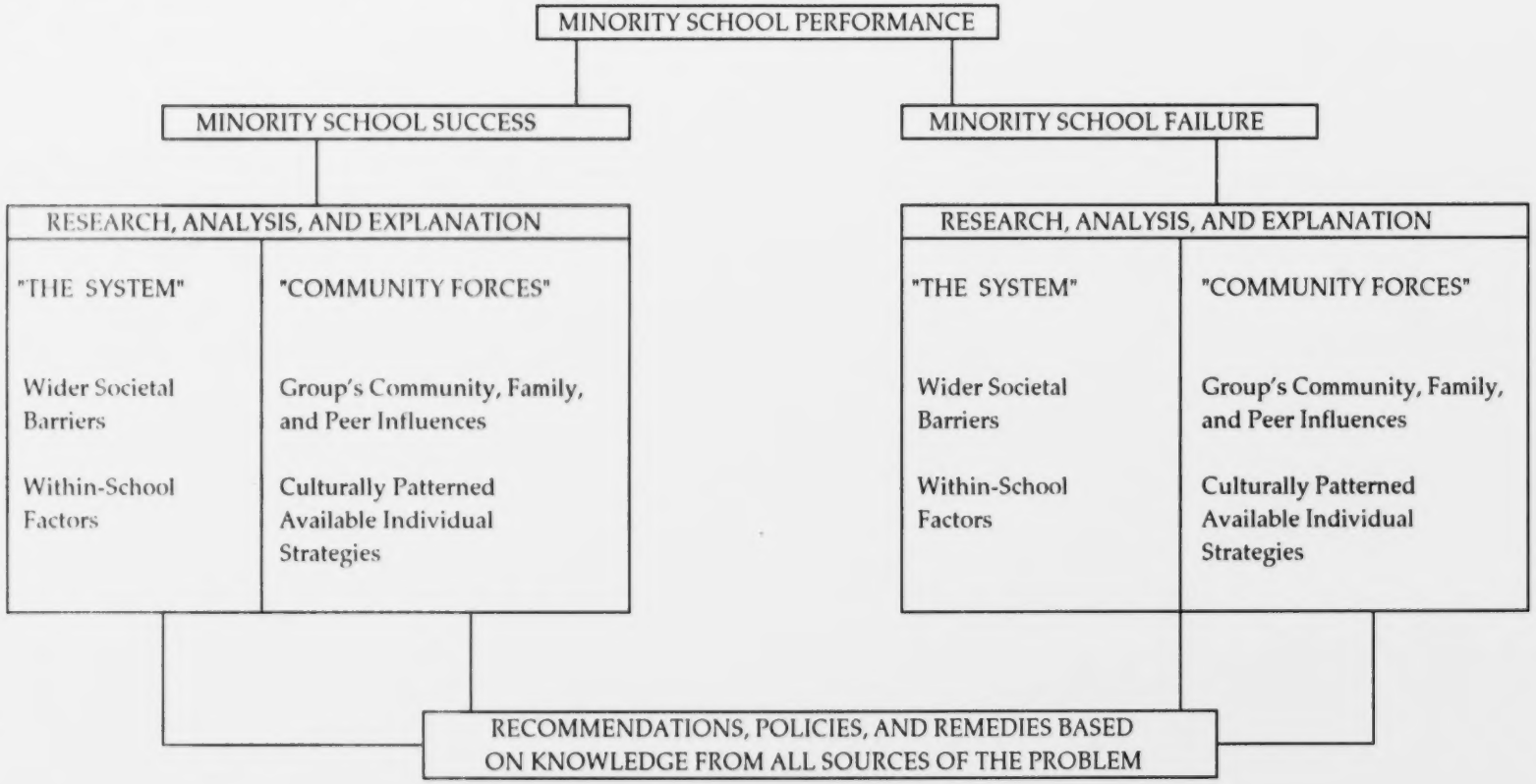


Figure 5. Sources of minority school performance

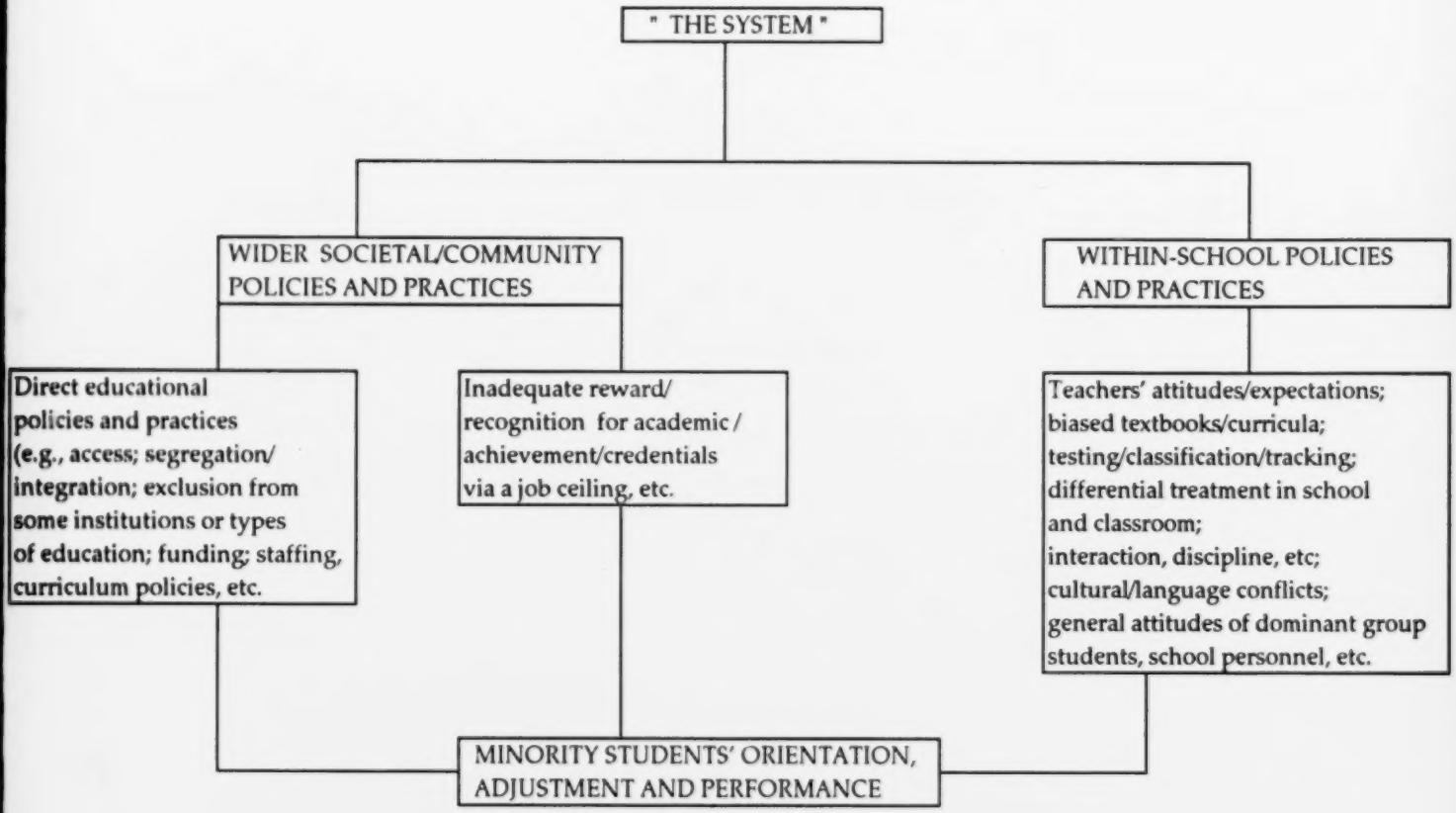

" THE SYSTEM "
WIDER SOCIETAL/COMMUNITY POLICIES AND PRACTICES
WITHIN-SCHOOL POLICIES AND PRACTICES
Direct educational policies and practices (e.g., access; segregation/ integration; exclusion from some institutions or types of education; funding; staffing, curriculum policies, etc.
Inadequate reward/ recognition for academic / achievement/credentials via a job ceiling, etc.
Teachers' attitudes/expectations; biased textbooks/curricula; testing/classification/tracking; differential treatment in school and classroom; interaction, discipline, etc; cultural/language conflicts; general attitudes of dominant group students, school personnel, etc.
MINORITY STUDENTS' ORIENTATION, ADJUSTMENT AND PERFORMANCE

Figure 6. How the system affects the school adjustment and performance of minority children

getting ahead in the United States, survival strategies, trust, identity, and cultural frame of reference—enter into the schooling process by influencing the educational attitudes and strategies of the minorities. The nature of the contents of the immigrant minorities' cultural model leads them to adopt attitudes and strategies more conducive to school success than is the case of the involuntary minorities. The connection between the immigrants' cultural model and their school striving is shown in Figure 7, while the connection between the involuntary minorities' cultural model and their own school striving is shown in Figure 8. The immigrants' dual status mobility frame and their folk theory of getting ahead stress the importance of school success and the importance of adopting appropriate academic attitudes, hard work, and perseverance at academic tasks in order to achieve school credentials for desired future jobs and other goals.

As already noted, the immigrants tend to believe that they have more and better opportunities to succeed in the United States than in their countries of origin and, indeed, they may have come to the U.S. precisely to give their children "American education" so they can get ahead in the U.S. or "back home," if they chose to return to their country of origin. Thus, immigrant parents stress education and take steps to ensure that their children behave in a manner conducive to school success. For their part, the children, whether they are Chinese, Central and South American Latinos, Koreans, or Punjabis, appear to share their parents' attitudes toward "American education," take their school work seriously, work hard, and persevere (see Gibson 1987; Kim-Young 1987; Suarez-Orozco 1987; Ong 1976).

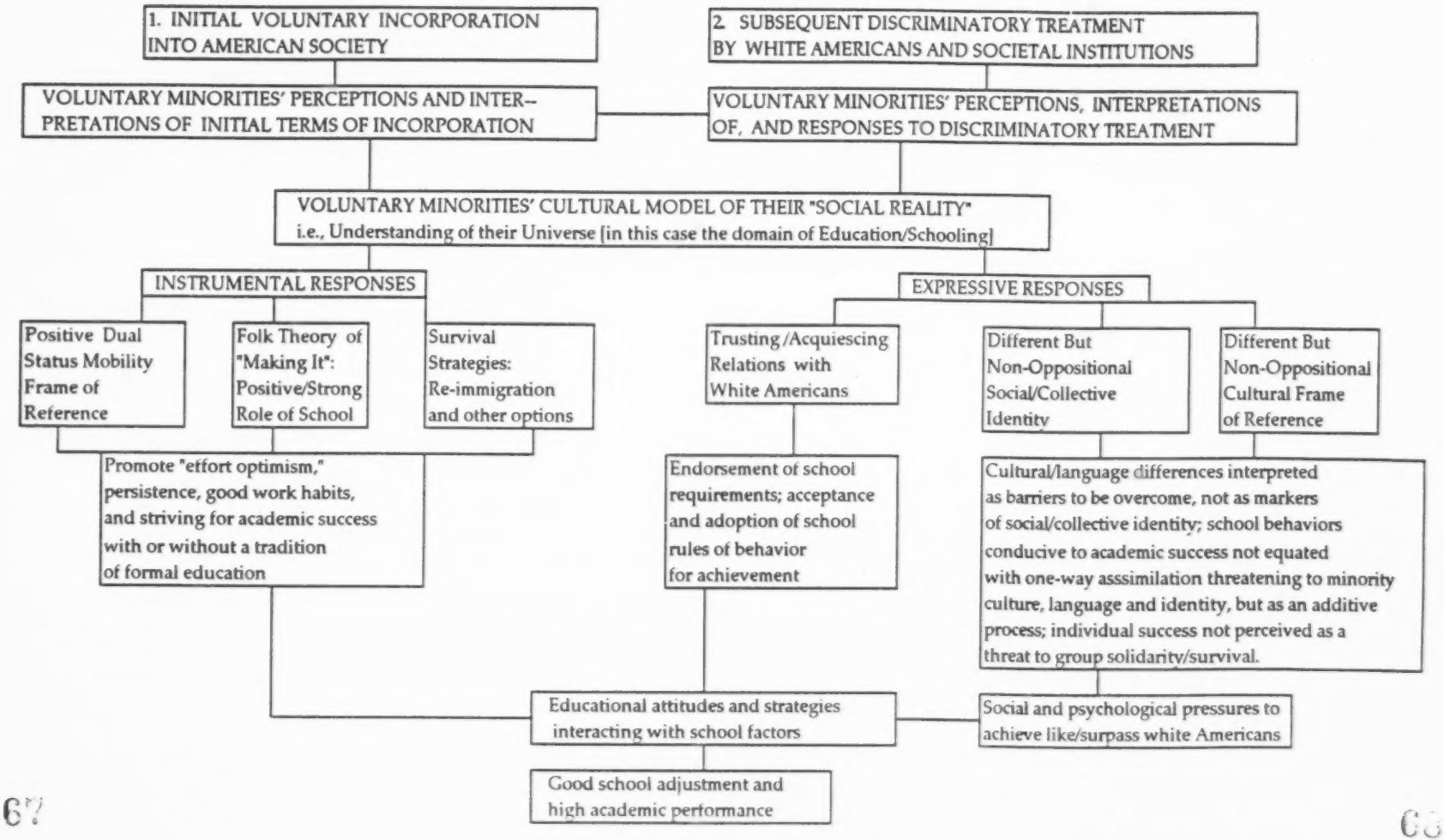
The non-oppositional social identity and non-oppositional cultural frame of reference of the immigrants facilitate their ability to cross cultural and language boundaries in the school context. They enable the immigrants to distinguish what they have to learn in order to achieve the goals of their immigration, such as the English language and the standard practices of the schools and the workplace, from other aspects of mainstream culture which may threaten their minority language, culture, and identity. As noted previously, the immigrants perceive and interpret the language and cultural features necessary for school success—the language and cultural differences they encounter in school—as *barriers to be overcome* in order to achieve their long-range goals of future employment, economic well-being, and other benefits. Therefore, the immigrants do not go to school expecting the schools to teach them in their native language and culture. Rather, they expect and are willing to learn the English language and the standard practices of the school. This is not to say that immigrant children do not experience language and cultural difficulties, but they and their parents and community perceive the language and cultural conflicts as problems they have to overcome with appropriate programs from the schools.

Finally, the immigrants' acquiescing and somewhat trusting relationship with the teachers and other school personnel also promotes school success. Their relative trust and acquiescence stem from three factors. One is that the immigrants consider the schools in the U.S. to be better than the schools of their homelands. Their comparative frame of reference is the school they left behind, not the school in the white suburbs in the U.S. Another reason is that the immigrants think that they are treated better by the public school personnel than the school personnel of their homeland (Suarez-Orozco, in press/1987). Finally, as noted previously, even where the immigrants experience prejudice and discrimination, which they certainly resent, they tend to rationalize such treatments so as not to discourage them from striving for school success (Gibson 1988). The overall impression one gains from ethnographic studies is that immigrant minority parents teach their children to trust school officials, and to accept, internalize, and follow school rules and standard practices for academic success and that the children more or less do so.

Involuntary Minorities.

In their dual status mobility frame of reference (Figure 8), involuntary minorities compare themselves unfavorably with the white middle class. When they do they conclude that they are worse off than they should be *in spite of their education and ability*. Thus, in their comparison, the role of education is uncertain.

Their folk theory of getting ahead emphasizes the importance of education, but this verbal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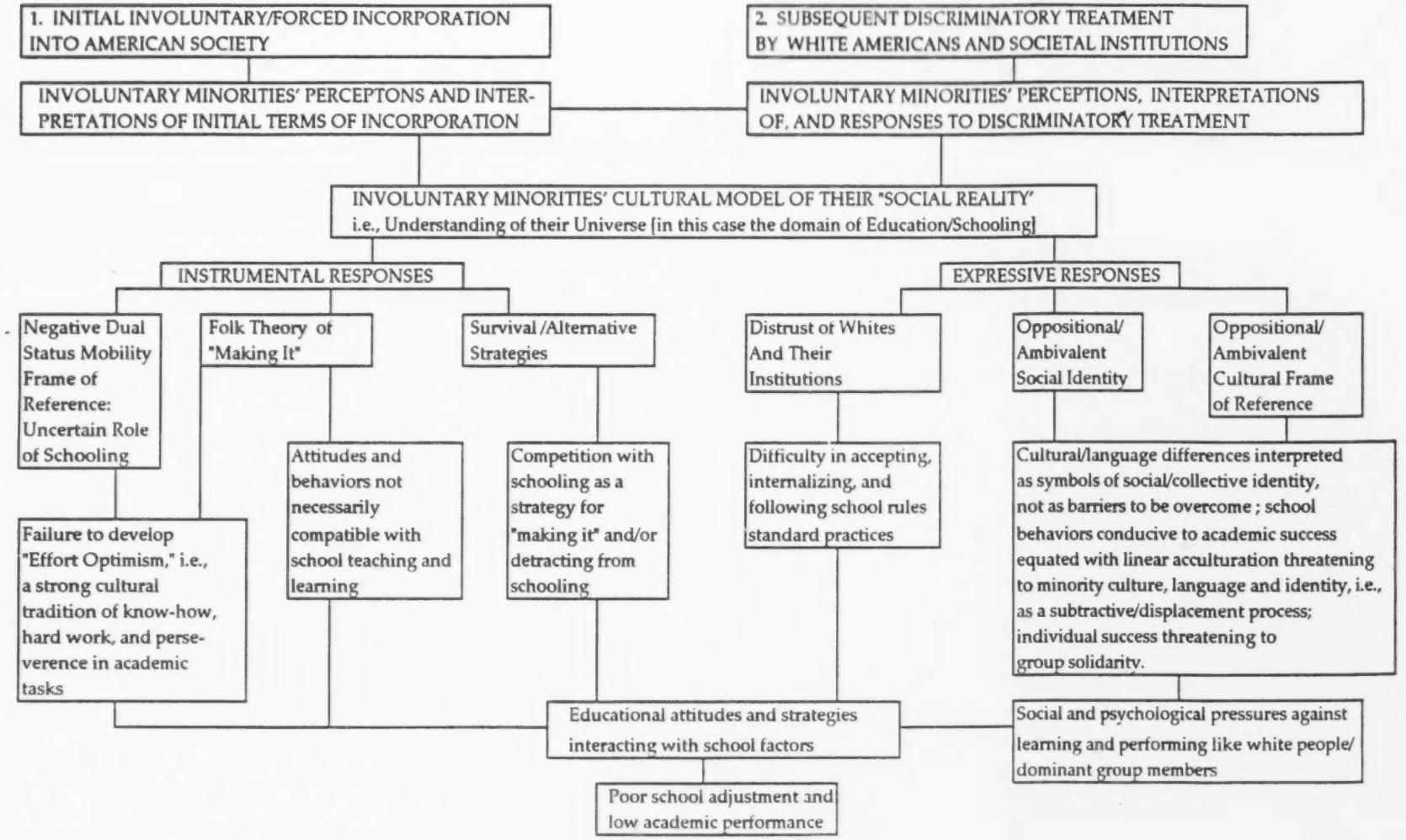
VOLUNTARY MINORITIES' CULTURAL MODEL OF THEIR "SOCIAL REALITY" i.e., Understanding of their Universe [in this case the domain of Education/Schooling]
INSTRUMENTAL RESPONSES
EXPRESSIVE RESPONSES
Positive Dual Status Mobility Frame of Reference
Folk Theory of "Making It": Positive/Strong Role of School
Survival Strategies: Re-immigration and other options
Trusting /Acquiescing Relations with White Americans
Different But Non-Oppositional Social/Collective Identity
Different But Non-Oppositional Cultural Frame of Reference
Promote "effort optimism," persistence, good work habits, and striving for academic success with or without a tradition of formal education
Endorsement of school requirements; acceptance and adoption of school rules of behavior for achievement
Cultural/language differences interpreted as barriers to be overcome, not as markers of social/collective identity; school behaviors conducive to academic success not equated with one-way asssimilation threatening to minority culture, language and identity, but as an additive process; individual success not perceived as a threat to group solidarity/survival.
Educational attitudes and strategies interacting with school factors
Social and psychological pressures to achieve like/surpass white Americans
Good school adjustment and high academic performance

Figure 7. Cultural model and the school adjustment and performance of voluntary minorities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INVOLUNTARY MINORITIES' CULTURAL MODEL OF THEIR "SOCIAL REALITY" i.e., Understanding of their Universe [in this case the domain of Education/Schooling]
INSTRUMENTAL RESPONSES
EXPRESSIVE RESPONSES
Negative Dual Status Mobility Frame of Reference: Uncertain Role of Schooling
Folk Theory of "Making It"
Survival /Alternative Strategies
Distrust of Whites And Their Institutions
Oppositional/ Ambivalent Social Identity
Oppositional/ Ambivalent Cultural Frame of Reference
Failure to develop "Effort Optimism," i.e., a strong cultural tradition of know-how, hard work, and perseverence in academic tasks
Attitudes and behaviors not necessarily compatible with school teaching and learning
Competition with schooling as a strategy for "making it" and/or detracting from schooling
Difficulty in accepting, internalizing, and following school rules standard practices
Cultural/language differences interpreted as symbols of social/collective identity, not as barriers to be overcome ; school behaviors conducive to academic success equated with linear acculturation threatening to minority culture, language and identity, i.e., as a subtractive/displacement process; individual success threatening to group solidarity.
Educational attitudes and strategies interacting with school factors
Social and psychological pressures against learning and performing like white people/ dominant group members
Poor school adjustment and low academic performance

Figure 8. Cultural model and the school adjustment and performance of involuntary minorities

endorsement is not usually accompanied by appropriate necessary effort. This is due, in part, to the fact that involuntary minorities were not given the same chance to get the kinds of jobs and wages available to whites who had comparable education. Eventually the minorities came to see the treatment as a part of the institutionalized discrimination against them which is not entirely eliminated by merely getting an education (Ogbu 1982). One result is that the minorities did not develop "effort optimism" toward academic work (Shack 1970). That is, they did not develop a strong tradition of cultural know-how, hard work, and perseverance toward academic tasks.

Moreover, under this circumstance involuntary minority parents appear to teach their children contradictory things about getting ahead through schooling. This was brought home to me while doing ethnographic research among blacks and Mexican-Americans in Stockton, California. What I observed was that on the one hand the parents tell their children to get a good education and encourage them verbally to do well in school. But on the other hand, the actual texture of the lives of these parents in terms of low-level jobs, underemployment, and unemployment, also comes through strongly, reproducing a second kind of message powerful enough to undo their exhortations. For, unavoidably, involuntary minority parents discuss their problems with "the system," as well as those of their relatives, friends, and neighbors, in the presence of their children. The result is that involuntary minority children increasingly become disillusioned about their ability to succeed in adult life through the mainstream strategy of schooling.

The folk theory of getting ahead stresses using other means than schooling, namely, survival strategies within and outside the mainstream, discussed earlier. The survival strategies affect minority youths' schooling in a number of ways. One is that they tend to generate attitudes and behaviors that are not conducive to good classroom teaching and learning. When survival strategies, such as collective struggle among black Americans, succeed in increasing the pool of jobs and other resources for the minority, they may encourage minority youths to work hard in school. But such success can also lead the youths to blame "the system" and to rationalize their lack of serious schoolwork efforts.

Clientship or "Uncle Tomming" is not particularly encouraging toward academic success because it does not create good role models for school success through good study habits and hard work. Instead clientship teaches minority children the manipulative attitudes, knowledge, and skill used by their parents to deal with white people and white institutions. As the children become familiar with other survival strategies like hustling and pimping as well as drug dealing, their attitudes toward schooling are adversely affected. For example, in the norms that support some of these survival strategies, like hustling, the work ethic is reversed by the insistence that one should make it without working, especially without "doing the white man's thing." Furthermore, for students who are into hustling, social interactions in the classroom are seen as opportunities for exploitation, i.e., opportunities to gain prestige by putting the other person or persons down. This may lead to class disruption and suspensions (Ogbu 1985a, 1985b, 1987).

Another problem is that the survival strategies may become serious competitors with schooling as ways of getting ahead, leading young people to channel their time and efforts into non-academic activities. This is particularly true as involuntary minority children get older and become more aware of how some adults in their communities "make it" without mainstream school credentials and employment (Bouie 1981; Ogbu 1974). For example, there is some evidence that among black Americans, many young people view sports and entertainment, rather than education, as the way to get ahead; and their perceptions are reinforced by the realities they observe in the community and society at large and by the media. Blacks are overrepresented in the lucrative sports like baseball, basketball, and football. The average annual salary in the National Basketball Association is over $300,000 and in the National Football League it is over $90,000. Many of the superstars who earn between $1 million and $2 milion a year are black, and these people have had little education. While the numbers of such highly-paid athletes are few, the media make them and the entertainers more visible to black youngsters than black lawyers, doctors, engineers, and scientists (Wong 1987).

There is some preliminary evidence, too, to suggest that black parents encourage their children's athletic activities in the belief that such activities would lead to careers in professional sports (Wong 1987).

Under the circumstance described here, involuntary minority youths, like their parents, orally express high interest in doing well in school and in obtaining good school credentials for future employment in the mainstream economy. But they do not necessarily match their wishes and aspirations with effort, even though they know that to do well in school they have to work harder than they presently do. Black and Mexican American students whom I studied in Stockton, California, for example, quite correctly explained that Chinese, Japanese, and white students in their school were more academically successful than they themselves because the former expended more time and effort in their schoolwork both at school and at home. The lack of serious academic attitudes and effort appears to increase as involuntary minority students get older and apparently become aware of their own social reality or come to accept prevailing beliefs about their social reality, namely that as members of disparaged minority groups they have limited future opportunities for getting good jobs even with a good education. Simultaneously they increasingly divert their time and efforts away from school work into non-academic activities.

Involuntary minorities differ from the immigrants in interpretation of the language and cultural differences they encounter in school. I have previously noted that involuntary minorities appear to interpret the language and cultural differences as markers or symbols of group identity to be maintained, not as barriers to be overcome. This is due to their oppositional or ambivalent social identity and cultural frame of reference. They do not appear to make a clear distinction, as the immigrants do, between what they have to learn or do to enhance their school success (such as learning and using the standard English *and* the standard behavior practices of the school) and the white American cultural frame of reference, i.e., the cultural frame of reference of their "oppressors."

Involuntary minorities perceive or interpret learning certain aspects of white American culture or behaving according to the white American cultural frame and identity as detrimental to their own minority culture, language, and identity. The equation of the standard English and the standard practices of the school with white American culture and identity often results in conscious or unconscious opposition, or in ambivalence toward learning and using these essential things at schools. Involuntary minority students who adopt the attitudes and behaviors conducive to school success, say, those who use the standard English and behave according to the standard practices of the school, are accused by their peers of "acting white" or in the case of black students, of being "Uncle Tom's" (Fordham and Ogbu 1986; Petroni 1970). They are accused of being disloyal to the cause of their group and they risk being isolated from their peers.

Furthermore, as DeVos (1967) has noted, even in the absence of peer pressures, involuntary minority students appear to avoid adopting serious academic attitudes and persevering in academic tasks partly because they have usually internalized their groups' interpretations of such attitudes and behaviors and partly because they are uncertain that they would be accepted by whites if they succeeded in learning to "act white" and subsequently lost the support of their own groups. This state of affairs results in "affective dissonance" or a sense of alienation for individual involuntary minority students.

The dilemma of involuntary minority students, then, as Petroni (1970) has pointed out, is that they "think" that they have to choose between academic success and maintaining their minority identity and cultural frame of reference, a choice that does not arise for the immigrants. Under this circumstance, involuntary minority students who want to achieve academic success are compelled to adopt strategies that would shield them from peer criticisms and ostracism, a point which will be addressed in the next section.

Finally, the involuntary minorities' distrust of white Americans and the public schools the latter control also adds to the school success problem. Involuntary minorities distrust the public schools more than the immigrants do because the former do not have the advantage of a dual frame of reference that allows the immigrants to compare the public schools with the schools they knew "back home." Involuntary minorities compare their schools with white schools, especially schools in white suburbs and they usually end up with negative conclusions, namely, that they are provided with inferior education for which there is

not justification. Since they do not trust the public schools and white people who control the schools, involuntary minorities are usually skeptical that the schools can educate their children well. This skepticism of parents and other adult members of the minority communities is communicated to minority youths through family and community discussions as well as through public debates over minority education in general or debates over particular issues, such as school desegregation.

Another factor discouraging academic effort is that involuntary minorities—parents and students—tend to question school rules of behavior and standard practices rather than accept and follow them as the immigrants appear to do. Indeed, involuntary minorities not infrequently interpret the school rules and standard practices as an imposition of the white cultural frame of reference which does not necessarily meet their "real educational needs."

My ethnographic research in Stockton provides several examples of instances in which blacks and Mexican Americans expressed skepticism about what they were learning in school and related tasks. One occasion involved an incident at a public meeting after a riot in a predominantly minority high school. The question here was the "relevance" of a high school history textbook, *The Land of the Free*, to the experiences of various minority groups in the state of California. Another concerned the value of a preschool curriculum stressing social development rather than academic learning. Still another was the real purpose of job placement tests, especially in the civil service. The minorities in this case believed that such tests, whether given at school or elsewhere, whether given by white Americans or their minority representatives, are designed to keep them down.

The problems associated with the distrustful relationship become more complicated because of the tendency of the schools to approach the education of involuntary minorities defensively. I have suggested (Ogbu 1988) that under this circumstance involuntary minority parents would have difficulty teaching their children successfully to accept and follow school rules of behavior and standard practices that lead to academic success, and involuntary minority children, particularly the older ones, would have difficulty accepting and following the school rules of behavior and standard practices. During my ethnographic interviews black and Mexican American youths, in fact, admitted that they do not always listen to their parents' advice concerning their school behaviors (Ogbu 1974, 1984, 1987, 1988).

The Individual in Collective Adaption

In the foregoing pages I have argued that immigrant minorities are relatively more academically successful than involuntary minorities because the status of the former as voluntary minorities generates for them a cultural model that enhances attitudes and behaviors conducive to school success. This does not mean that all immigrants succeed and all involuntary minority youths do not succeed in school. What I have described are what appear to be the dominant patterns of academic adaptation for the two types of minorities. Within each type there are several culturally available strategies that enhance school success. But the two types of minorities differ in the degree of support, especially peer support, for individuals utilizing the strategies that enhance school success.

Among immigrant minority youths the collective orientation appears to be toward making good grades and social pressures from the community (e.g., community gossips). The family and peer groups support making good grades. Individuals who are subjected to criticisms and possible peer isolation are youths who do not achieve academically (Yu 1987). Partly to avoid ridicule (which may extend to one's family), criticism, and isolation, most immigrant minority youths tend to utilize available strategies that enhance their chances to succeed in school (Ogbu 1987).

Among involuntary minorities the situation is different and the responses of individual youths are different. Here, while making good grades is generally verbalized, there is less community and family pressure to achieve this goal; there is, for example, no stigma of or gossip against individual youths who do not make good grades. As for peer groups, the collective orientation is actually the opposite of what it is among the immigrants; it is against academic success. Consequently, peer pressures among involuntary minorities are used to discourage utilizing strategies that enhance individual school success. And the youths who are subjected to peer criticism and isolation are those perceived as behaving as if they want to succeed academically and those who actually succeed.

Under this circumstance, involuntary minority youths who want to succeed academically often consciously choose from a variety of secondary strategies that enable them to succeed by shielding them from peer pressures and other detracting forces. The secondary strategies are over and above the conventional strategy of correct academic attitudes, hard work, and perseverance. They are, instead, strategies that provide the context in which the youth can practice the conventional strategy.

Using black American youths as an example, my preliminary investigation shows that the youths can be differentiated in terms of how they understand the situation—their cultural model of schooling—and that individual youths utilize different secondary strategies to enhance their school success. Figure 9 shows the different types of secondary strategies that are available to black youths. These strategies are derived from analysis of ethnographic studies of black school experience as well as from analysis of a small number of black autobiographies in which the authors describe their school experience. As revealed in these works, some strategies are more effective in enabling individual black youths to strive for and achieve school success, although sometimes this is at a psychological or social cost. Let me briefly describe some of these secondary strategies.

Assimilation/Emulation of Whites/Cultural Passing

Assimilators are black youths who choose to dissociate themselves from or repudiate the black identity and cultural frame of reference in favor of the white cultural frame of reference, a position which amounts to a kind of cultural passing. They may choose to maintain "a raceless identity" (Fordham 1988). These are youths who have come to prefer white norms and values that are in conflict with those of black Americans, especially those of their black peers. For these youths it appears that one cannot remain a good member of the black community/peer group and be successful in schools or mainstream institutions. Therefore they reason that in order to succeed they must repudiate or abandon their black peers, black identity, and cultural frame of reference. They are usually successful in school, but at the price of peer criticism and isolation.

Camouflage

Some black youths camouflage in order to achieve school success. They consciously choose gender-appropriate specific strategies to camouflage their real academic attitudes and efforts, according to Fordham (1985). These students adopt camouflaging techniques that help them escape adverse peer influences on their school work. One technique is to become involved in athletics or other "team-oriented" activities. This appears to reassure their peers that they are not simply pursuing their own individual interests and goals or trying to get ahead of others. Another technique of camouflage is to assume the role of a comedian or jester (Fordham 1985; Ogbu 1985a, 1985b). By acting foolishly, the black youth playing the jester role satisfies the expectation of his or her peers that he or she is not serious about school, since the peer group does not particularly condone academic excellence. The jester, however, takes schoolwork seriously when away from peers and does well in school. But on the whole, jesters pretend that they are not serious about schoolwork and conceal their school achievement and do not brag about their school success. Some youths who are good at camouflaging are regarded by their peers as "naturally smart." Academically successful black males are the ones who play the class clowns most.

Alternators or Accommodators without Assimilation

Some black youths play down black identity and cultural frame of reference in the school context in order to succeed by mainstream criteria. But they do not reject black identity and culture. Their motto seems to be, as one school counselor in Stockton, California explained it: "Do your own black thing, but know the white man's thing." Alternators generally adopt what appears to be the schooling strategy of immigrant minorities, namely the mode of accommodation without assimilation. Thus, while they do not reject the black identity and cultural frame of reference, they elect to play by the rules of the system. Their stance seems to be, "When in Rome, do as the Romans do."

Other secondary strategies that enhance school success include getting a mentor, attending private schools to get away from peers, becoming

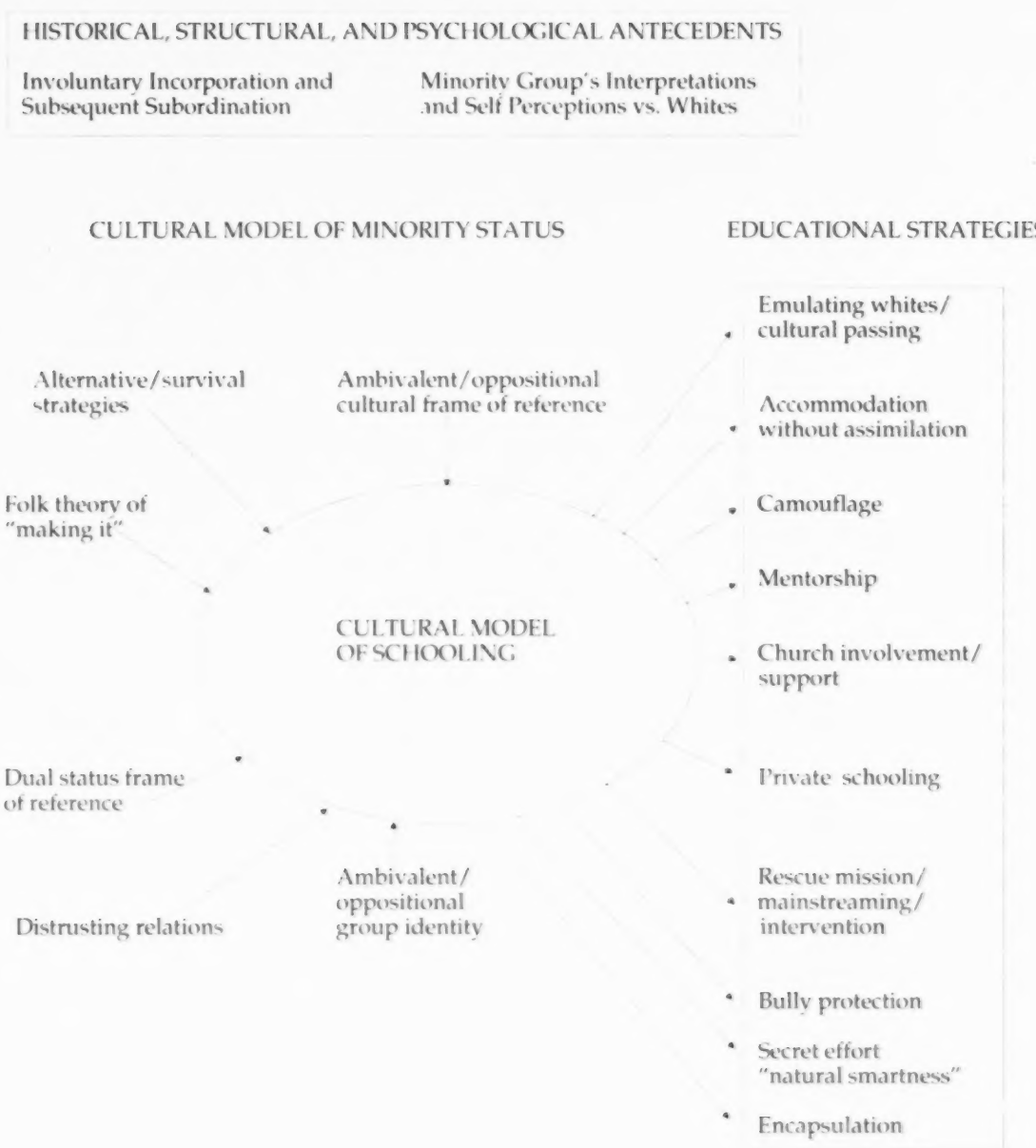

Figure 9. Cultural model and involuntary minorities' educational strategies (the individual in collective adaptation)

involved in church activities where there is a support group for academic striving, getting a bully to protect oneself from peers in exchange for helping the bully with homework, and participating in mainstreaming or intervention programs.

Some black youths, on the other hand, become encapsulated in peer orientation and activities that are anti-academic. These black youths are the ones who not only equate school learning with "acting white" but make no attempt to "act white" or get around it in order to succeed in school. They reject schooling because it is "acting white." They *simply* do not try to learn and to conform to school rules of behavior and standard practices, since these are defined as being within the white American cultural frame of reference. The encapsulated generally do not do well in school (Fordham and Ogbu 1986).

Conclusion

I hope that my presentation will not be interpreted as stating that minorities are largely responsible for their own school success or failure. The point I have tried to convey is that the minorities also contribute to their own school success or school failure. Minority youths face obstacles from society, school, and their own minority communities as they try to get an education. But youths from some groups are relatively successful in spite of these obstacles because the initial terms of incorporation into the United States allow them to perceive and interpret subsequent treatment, including treatment in school, in a manner that produces a cultural model conducive to academic striving and school success. Other minorities whose initial terms of incorporation are different perceive and interpret their subsequent treatment differently, resulting in a cultural model less conducive to striving for school success.

But even in the less academically successful minority group, there is usually a pool of recognizable strategies, some of which promote school success. Individual youths in such a group choose from these strategies. For a variety of reasons, some youths choose strategies that enhance school success and thereby succeed. To promote a greater degree of school success among the youths in the less academically successful minority groups, it is necessary to recognize and remove obstacles from society and within the schools. But it is also necessary to understand the nature of the obstacles that arise from their cultural model as well as the strategies of schooling that promote or can promote school success in their circumstances.

Note

1. Mexicanos are Mexican migrant workers and their children who consider themselves Mexicanos and Mexico their permanent home. Mexican Americans are people of Mexican origin born in the United States who identify themselves as Mexican Americans or Americans of Mexican descent. Chicanos are U.S.-born people of Mexican descent who do not find the term "Chicano" offensive even when they refer to themselves as Mexicans or Mexican Americans. They tend to refer to Mexican-American students who attend classes regularly or speak standard English as "Wannabes," meaning that "they want to be Anglos." (Matute-Bianchi 1986:236-240.)

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Achieving Equity of Opportunity in Higher Education: A Continuing Nagging Problem for America

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I am very pleased and honored to be one of your speakers at this important conference. It is always a pleasure because the chief state school officers are important people, as I know you have been telling yourselves during your three-day meeting. I am pleased to be invited back for, as usual, you have selected a most timely and important theme for your meeting and pulled together quite an impressive array of presenters and presentations. Your sense of timing on the key issues is superb and I commend you for it.

In my remarks this evening I want to focus on the importance of a number of things, principally the importance of youth, as perhaps the most valuable resource the nation has going for it in any age, and why it is particularly crucial for America in the next decade. I will underscore the ethnic dimension of that reality and why that aspect of the leadership challenge for America must not be pushed down on the list of this nation's agenda and priorities, especially during these times.

The Challenge of Change

Perhaps the only certainty in these times is the challenge of change. Truly the rate of change during the last decades has been both incredibly fascinating and unsettling. Change fascinates us, I suspect, because it is that one constant in this complex, buzzing world of ours. Even a cursory review of what has occurred in just forty years yields an amazing kaleidoscope of images: emergence from World War II, the Korean War, Vietnam, and preparation for Star Wars; the Space Program era, space travel, Armstrong and Aldrin on the moon, Sally Ride, and, of course, the devastating tragedy of the teacher astronaut, Christa McAuliffe; the civil rights movement and declaration of war on poverty; the assassination of John F. Kennedy, his brother, Robert, and Martin Luther King; the assassination attempt on Ronald Reagan; discovery of a polio vaccine, heart transplants, and test-tube babies; the development of microprocessors, microchips, and microcomputers; Watergate and the resignation of a U.S. president in disgrace. More currently, Secord, North, Baker, Meese, and all those et ceteras. On a positive note, the election of black and Latino mayors of major cities across the face of America and even a black American running for the presidency of the United States of America.

Those events blur together; there's the good, there's the bad, and there's the indifferent. Whatever we may think of the specifics, the overwhelming impression we are left with is of a world beset on all sides by relentless and inescapable change. Sir Peter Medwar captures well the implications of this point. I quote, "Today the world changes so quickly that in growing up we take leave, not just of our youth, but of the world we were young in." As we reflect on this point, we should also remember that changes in society are always precipitated by ferment and dissatisfaction with some status quo. Through the ages, the processes of ferment and change have always been closely associated with the concept of leadership. Significantly, too, the quest for creative and meaningful alternatives is always shaped by what and how we study, and by the perceptions we have of what is possible.

I like to underscore to our young people, particularly our minority students, that this image of reality, which almost inevitably each one of us must forge on a personal anvil, becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy for each of us. I believe, too, that especially we who work in schools, colleges, and universities need to be keenly aware that the most important task we face as a modern society is the inculcation in our future leaders of a broad and culturally-sensitive understanding of the world and one's options within it. We must

spur our youth, our college students, and prospective leaders to use newly developed conceptual and knowledge tools, not just to help themselves and to further individual career goals, but for the more important reasons that deal with notions of equity and social justice, and yes, the obligation to become involved and to contribute in a positive way to the making of a more understanding and a more humane society.

Like all societies throughout history, America needs the vigor and energy of youthful aspirations and the inevitable attendant pressures to push us beyond present limits toward a more desirable state of things. This holds especially true for the new wave of black and Latino youth in our universities who are so central to the future of this nation. This brings me to the fundamental concern that I want to address this evening, mainly the problem of the underrepresentation of blacks, Hispanics, and American Indians on school and college campuses. This continues to be a serious and complex problem. As far as finding solutions goes, we really have not made much progress. I would hasten to underscore that, given the demographics, the problem has major national implications that go beyond simplistic notions about people of color needing a helping hand.

Empowerment through Education

It seems to me that in any discussion of the problem of minority underrepresentation in higher education, there are two undergirding elements or issues which we should make clear and explicit. The first involves the relationship between education and power; the second has to do with that not-so-popular concept these days of social justice, and how that concept seems to play out in the current, much publicized concern for quality in education.

With regard to the first, I am absolutely convinced of the direct link between power and education for minorities. For blacks and Hispanics especially, education is the surest route to permanent empowerment. And because education provides the means by which minority people can move their lives from bondage toward meaningful freedom, I believe that to deny minority people an education is immoral and criminal.

With reference to the second issue, Bernard Harleston, the President of the City College of the City University of New York, defines clearly both why this nation needs to so concern itself with how things are playing out these days in simple human justice terms, and illustrates the important nexus between these issues:

Opportunity is being replaced as a term in the public debate on access to education by "academic excellence." The claim of a growing chorus is that we need to demand more of our students. We need to improve their performance on standardized tests, we need to revamp the educational system so that we produce a population of high achievers--but the undercurrent in the debate is that we need to limit access to educational institutions. When all the euphemisms are eliminated and the jargons peeled away, the case of the argument advanced by the critics is that access should be limited to those students who are destined to be successes in the acadmic world.

But what of those who by virtue of the circumstance of their birth or their early exposure, the color of their skin, or their Spanish surname are destined, without access to education, to be excluded from the job market, the housing market, the marketplace of life? Should not all who want higher education have that opportunity, not just those whom circumstances permitted to go to the best primary and secondary schools under the best circumstances?

Look at the facts and begin at the beginning. What does it mean that 40 and 50 percent of the kids in our urban high schools drop out? And what of the even higher cumulative drop-out rate of minority teenagers? We must talk first about and act first on the issue of how we keep these young people in schools. Then we can talk and act on how we upgrade and ensure the quality of their educational experiences. This is the reality of the present crisis in America's education. If we do not confront directly, openly, and with compassion, the realities of the dropout phenomenon, our collective concern about "quality" will amount to a functional hill of beans and will lack integrity and moral persuasion.

Irving Spitzberg puts it even more directly:

It is imperative that every discussion of quality acknowledge and reject any cost in terms of opportunity and that standards be constrained by an equally strong commitment to equity. It will not be good enough to invoke quality if we forget equity. Nor will we create equality of opportunity if our strategies for equity are at the expense of the quality of the

opportunity. We will achieve neither equity nor quality if we do not give careful attention to our policy goals and to the strategies for implementing change consistent with these goals.

Fanny Wright, the nineteenth century feminist critic and activist, perhaps best puts it all in perspective:

Do not the rich command instruction, and they who have instruction, must they not possess the power? And when they have the power, will they not exert it in their own favor? While the many are left in ignorance, the few--though powerful--cannot be wise for, having not shared, they cannot be virtuous.

For me the access dimensions of the issue boil down to the simple matter of what is right and of recognizing the importance of education for minorities during these times. It is a question of fairness and integrity, as well as equity. I decry the indisputable fact that blacks, Hispanics, and American Indians comprise a disproportionately higher percentage of those victimized by the Reagan cuts in federal financial aid for college-age needy students. I am quite concerned about the decrease we have experienced in minority college enrollments across the country during the past six years especially. The fact is that the status of Hispanics and blacks at the postsecondary level today is indeed bleak. Until the late 1960s, the participation of Hispanics at the college level was almost negligible; the same was true of blacks. However, improvement in the participation rates of Hispanics and other minorities did occur in the late 1960s and in the early 1970s, paralleling the civil rights era and equal opportunity efforts at the K through 12 level.

Those improvements were short-lived, for the mid-1980s reality shows us only too clearly that the national college attendance rate of Hispanics and blacks leveled off, and overall has even begun to decline since 1976, especially for blacks. In California just about 60 percent of all high school graduates enter some form of postsecondary education. Current estimates indicate that 80 percent of Hispanics who attend public postsecondary institutions in California enrolled in two-year community colleges, as did 83 percent of blacks. In contrast, not even 40 percent of Asians and less than 18 percent of whites who attended public higher education selected community colleges. In the California State University and the University of California systems a number of voluntary experimental so called "campus" programs to overcome educational disadvantage arose during the mid-1960s. Although the impact of these equal opportunity programs and similar programs was evidenced between 1969 and 1978 with some increases in the participation of Hispanics and other minorities, progress, as I mentioned, has since diminished.

Singling out the case of Hispanics, two things are important to know. First, some of those decreases in the proportion of Mexican-American students in particular are even more pronounced than has been publicized, since they have been masked by increases in the enrollment of those classified as "other" Hispanics. And as we are all aware, any apparent increase in the number or even the percentage of Mexican-American undergraduates attending higher education institutions is attenuated by the major increases in Hispanics among high school graduates in California.

What is significant about this is the much publicized fact about our state: that shortly after the year 2000, minorities will become the majority in California. California will be the first mainland state to become a majority-minority state, and Hispanics will be the largest by far of the ethnic groups. The point which these data drive home is that it is obvious that existing programs are not adequate to progress beyond the current plateau. New initiatives are needed to increase the number of Hispanics, American Indians, and blacks who are prepared for university study and to ensure that they receive the assistance necessary to enroll and remain in college. Although underrepresentation is a problem for a number of minority ethnic groups, the situation is particularly critical for Hispanics and blacks, given their increasing numbers and overall record of low educational attainment.

It is for all those reasons that I have so little patience with the argument that a "recovery of quality" in higher education (which I fully support) must somehow mean that we turn away all initially under-prepared students. I find the invocations of quality which lead operationally to a denial of equity for minorities to be totally unacceptable.

This brief overview of postsecondary educational experiences of minorities that I have given you underscores the need for concerted attention at this time. The disparity between the proportion of minorities who enroll in higher education and their representation among high school graduates and persons of traditional college-going age is simply far too great. Because Hispanics are the most under-represented minority group in key states like Texas, California, Florida, and New York, the ongoing efforts to target the Hispanic community in those places are certainly appropriate. However, I would emphasize that such a focus should in no way lessen the responsibility of higher education institutions in our society to increase the participation of all underrepresented groups on their campuses.

Outreach to Minorities

Those are the general parameters of the underrepresentation problem. The circumstances beg two obvious questions. One, what should we do about it? Secondly and importantly, won't all these recent efforts to raise admission requirements and the tightening of college preparatory curricula in high school exacerbate the problem of underrepresentation of blacks, American Indians, and Hispanics in public higher education? In response to the latter question, the answer, unfortunately, is yes, unless we can effect major changes in the public secondary schools that will increase dramatically the number of Hispanics and the number of blacks taking college preparatory courses. Specifically, this means expanding the curricular offerings in high-minority enrollment high schools and intermediate schools, and revamping the guidance and counseling systems to ensure a bigger stream of minorities moving into and across to the college preparatory tracks in those schools.

That is what we are attempting in our system. Our trustees three years ago increased the admissions requirements rather dramatically. We now require a full college preparatory pattern of high school course work, which includes four years of English, three years of math, two years of foreign language, one year of science, one semester of the performing arts, etc. In addition, they must place in the upper third of their high school graduating cohort determined by scores on the SAT or ACT and their grade point average.

With reference to the first question, "What do we need to do?," I think the direction in which we need to move is fairly obvious, although this is not the place to try to give a full listing of all we need to do. Instead, let me give you a brief outline of the kinds of things that I believe are absolutely critical if we are to make a difference. First, we need to increase our outreach efforts significantly, but we must do so in targeted ways. Our institutions of higher education must commit themselves to work on a faculty-to-faculty basis with the high schools, particularly in science, math, and English. The curriculum must be articulated to ensure that the high school students are being prepared in a manner that, once admitted to the university, enables them to meet the expectations of the general education requirements. Both faculties should be working closely and collaboratively on that design, and on the fashioning of the placement tests that are going to be required, say in math and English, in order to ensure a congruence in the expectations we lay on our students from both ends.

Second, the university needs to organize a comprehensive series of activities aimed at informing minority students and their families of all that is required to go to college. Of particular importance in this regard is the need to provide carefully prepared and accurate information on financial aid possibilities and options. The university should work through and with community group leaders, networks, and parents to reach these minority communities. Nothing is more important and essential than this if we are serious about telegraphing the universities' interests in enrolling minority students.

Third, summer bridge and in-school bridge programs need to be mounted with the surrounding school districts for the announced purpose of increasing the number of minority students on campus. This should start with a massive SAT or ACT testing effort available to all minority students free of charge. The results should be used to organize special support activities aimed at helping the maximum number of students qualified for college admission to the program of their choice. Subscores, as well as the overall scores, should be used to screen-in rather than screen-out the most students possible. Summer bridge efforts should flow from those

results and should target the students who need immediate help and who have a chance with basic skills assistance to become college eligible. The summer bridge programs should include at a minimum senior and junior-level students, and the course work they take should be heavily basic-skills oriented.

In-school bridging efforts likewise need to target on those students closest to the mark. For example, a regularly scheduled high school class period in which minority students receive direct tutoring help in math, science, and English is essential. Ideally, the teacher assigned would be assisted by role-model college student tutors and/or peer tutors. This would occur as part of the students' regular day and regular course load. College information and career option information activities should also be programmed along with multiple visits to the university campus as part of the program. It is important to organize these kinds of activities at the intermediate as well as the secondary or high school level. Students are tracked very early these days, and unless special efforts are made to counter the usual trends, the inevitable result will be that minorities end up in non-college preparatory courses.

Fourth, the university needs to become involved directly in charting the rate of minority participation in college preparatory course work by school and school district on a year-to-year basis. The university needs to collect and provide that information to the respective principals and superintendents along with graduation and dropout statistics on their students. The profile for each school should delineate the pattern of courses students in college are taking, how students from each school are doing in college, and what their dropout rate is at the university level.

Of particular concern to us in California is that this data be used to initiate a needed dialogue among universities, community colleges, and high schools regarding the pattern of courses minority students are taking, and how these compare across schools and across school districts. As part of this, we have worked to tie our computing system to the school districts and the community colleges so that we can call up transcript information across schools, community colleges, and universities.

Fifth, a concerted effort needs to be mounted to involve faculty and staff in making high school visitations and in special money-raising activities for ethnic minority scholarships. These may run the gamut from working with specific ethnic groups to involving individual donors and service clubs. What is important about this is both the type of commitment it generates to this need on the part of university and school people, as well as the message telegraphed to our community about the need to increase the participation of minority students in higher education. A very successful special effort we have going is a community mentoring program where we have matched over 100 community professionals and business leaders with minority students with potential, but who have been identified as at risk.

A sixth area of concern is more directly tied to what needs to be done on campus. First and foremost, it is important to ensure that on the campus all know that this thrust is a top priority concern for the institution and its leaders and that we must organize accordingly. Once this is established, it is a relatively simple matter to move on essential elements. For example, the institution of an early warning system to provide minority students encountering difficulties with special assistance at the mid-quarter or mid-semester point. This can take various forms ranging from tutoring assistance to discussions with individual professors or even personal counseling. The key is having a professional person charged with the responsibility of contacting the students and professors involved, evaluating the problem, and then following up on an individual basis.

The point is that it is essential that we concern ourselves not only with admitting minorities to our hallowed halls, but also with ensuring their continuation and their graduation. A learning assistance center or unit charged with the responsibility for coordinating targeted student-support activities on campus is also important. Tutoring, financial aid counseling, small group study skills seminars, peer counseling assistance, cultural group reinforcement sessions, and individualized computer-assisted career guidance activities are good examples of the array of support activities which are needed.

A Culturally Pluralistic Education

These efforts, however, should not be confined to the student affairs side of the academic house. The academic affairs area needs to play at least as major a role in effecting the changes needed on campus. Certainly the university should support its ethnic studies program or department and commit adequate resources to ensure the viability and the stature of that program. The commitment of the institution needs to go beyond that, however, if we are going to be successful in improving the participation rate of minorities in higher education and, equally as important, if we are going to afford all our students a more culturally pluralistic university education.

Our general education offerings, those courses we require of all students regardless of major, should include ethnic studies and multiculturally-oriented courses. This is important for several reasons. The most important reason is that it makes a clear statement about the institution's interest and responsiveness to such concerns. It communicates to our students, our faculty and staff, and various publics that we recognize the individuality and the importance of our various ethnic groups and their distinct traditions and distinct values; that we understand that knowledge about ethnicity aids all of our students in the development of their understanding and sensitivity toward ethnic groups and their heritages; and that all of these understandings are of vital importance to the leaders of the next American decades. Ideally, too, the infusion of culturally pluralistic content and concepts needs to cut across all the base disciplines, especially the social and behavioral sciences. Probably the best way to ensure this is by recruiting the right faculty. If an institution recruits people who have the needed background and expertise, and the commitment to such culturally pluralistic ideals, it will have taken a major step in the right direction.

This brings me to the final element in this rather comprehensive agenda that I have been laying out for you—the role and function of multicultural or ethnic concerns in American education. I am consistently surprised by how much heated discussion and, even worse, how many deflection and evasion tactics this topic continues to draw in academic and schooling circles. Some of those discussions, especially in the last six years, have become particularly vicious as the mood of this country has turned conservative. On university campuses for example, ethnic studies programs from their inception have played a multifunctional role. They have had to. They at once had to initiate ethnic-specific courses for minorities, help make their institutions' affirmative action record look a little better, serve as buffers between the institution and off-campus minority pressure groups, and in general take on the responsibility to ride herd on institutional efforts to respond to minority group needs and minority group demands.

All of these varied responsibilities and involvements at times have created and caused what we can politely term "stress" on the organization, but which in my opinion and contrary to popular belief in some quarters, is healthy, necessary, and important. For it is indeed those healthy tensions that enable us to learn to respond in better ways to the needs of our students. That is especially important in these changing demographic times. We need to do a better job of recognizing that reality both at your level and at mine.

Need for Comprehensive Approach

In short, if there is a basic axiom to all I have been hammering at this evening, it is a simple one. Given the nature of our reform problems and the importance of the need for changes in the direction I have outlined, it is imperative that our institutional responses be comprehensive, rather than isolated and narrow ones. It simply is not good enough any longer to set up separate approaches to take care of "those people," while the rest of the institution carries on business as usual. And I hasten to emphasize that nothing along these lines is ever easy, for there has indeed been a dramatic shift in the national mood and certainly in the federal posture about these "ethnic things."

How dramatic that shift has been was brought home to me in reading the press and media coverage about the reauthorization of the Higher Education Act and the activities commemorating the signing of the original act over twenty years ago. Robert L. Hardesty, who served as Lyndon Johnson's speech writer and

now is president of Southwest Texas State University, recounted in his address at the commemorative activities how President Johnson labored with the speech he was to give at the ceremony and the pains he took to add sentences and phrases. Two of those phrases he added underscore both the importance of our concerns here this evening, as well as why it is so important to continue to push on our unfinished agenda.

In summing up the importance of the Higher Education Act Johnson said, "The Act means very simply that a high school senior anywhere in this great land of ours can apply to any college or university in any of the 50 states and not be turned away because his family was poor." In recalling his college days when he was forced to leave school to go to work after his sophomore year and how he went to teach in the "Mexican" school in Cotulla, Texas, he said, "I shall never forget the faces of the boys and girls in that classroom and I remember even yet the pain of realizing and knowing then that college was closed to practically ever one of those children because they were poor. And I think it was then that I made up my mind that this nation could never rest while the door to knowledge remained closed to any American."

President Johnson's words still ring loud and true today and the unfinished task remains. At least they do for me, and I am confident that they also ring true enough for the chief state school officers of America to enable us to get back to that unfinished agenda in this final part of the 1980s, no matter what Secretary Bennett or others might think.

Again, thank you for inviting me and I want to congratulate you again for your demonstrated commitment to the critical and burning educational issues of the day.

Promoting African-American Student Achievement

Asa G. Hilliard III
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Once again, I'm very pleased to have this opportunity to be with the chiefs. We were, for at least a part of last summer, all literally in the same boat. That was a very enjoyable time for me. That was my first opportunity to be with the chiefs, and the feeling I came away with was one of profound respect and appreciation for the willingness exhibited there to deal in a serious way with this particular priority which we call "at risk." The fact that there had been an initiative prior to the conference that has maintained itself since the conference in a variety of ways—that we are here almost a year later and this is still foremost in your minds—speaks very highly of the motivation and commitment you have to solve one of the very difficult problems we face in education. It gives a lot of us energy to be associated with anyone who is oriented in that direction.

I have been asked to address the area of black youth and school success. I had a subtitle that I was also asked to talk about and that is "How School-College Collaboration Can Advance the Quality of Teaching for At-Risk Children." I'm going to cover a little of the territory I covered last summer, but want to amplify the meaning of that for the school-college collaboration area. Also, I want to extend some of my original comments to include new information.

Those of you who were in Montana know that I had one major point that I tried to make in a variety of ways and a few other supporting points. The one major point was that the schools could do everything we wanted them to do and can do it now. We know that because there are now people doing everything that we want them to do. They have been doing everything that we want them to do. There are some people who are doing everything we want them to do and they were doing it before anyone came up with the research on good teaching. In fact, I'm not convinced that research on good teaching is the best source of information on what it is that we ought to do. I've seen some research on good teaching that I believe has been used in a way that is really inappropriate and misleads, rather than leads.

Models of Success

At the summer institute, I went through a series of examples showing us what is being done. As a way of refreshing, I'll mention three quick examples to show that something real is already going on and that they provide the models for what we need to be doing.

The examples are in the field of mathematics because I believe mathematics education, along with two or three other areas, if we did nothing else and did that well, would boost the academic achievement of children across the board, even while boosting their self-concepts. I want to indicate through these examples that there are models in operation, not relying on research at all, where the problem of teaching mathematics in two cases to black children, and in one case to Hispanic children, have been solved. There's a movie many of us have seen now called *Stand and Deliver*, which is the true story of Dr. Escalante's work in Los Angeles with Hispanic children who, at the high school level, have been taught higher level mathematics—calculus, for example. This was in the barrios where they weren't supposed to be able to learn arithmetic. So, if we want a good example of what to do, it has already been presented.

The drawback that some people see in using an example like that is that it is one example and we assume there is only one Escalante. People tend to regard him as something of a specialty—an anomaly. I'd like to say that that

simply is not true. Let me illustrate by giving two more examples:

Professor "B" [Professor Evared Barrett, North Baldwin, New York] worked in Bedford-Stuyvesant in New York, and, in about a year, raised the academic achievement level of the black children in a Bedford-Stuyvesant fifth grade class to the point where most of them passed the ninth grade regents' exam in mathematics. Then he turned around and taught other teachers to do the same thing. So, that gets rid of the "savior-who-walks-on-water" notion for solving this problem. However, that's still a small-scale case study. You'll say, well, there may have been something special in the water. So, I'll conclude my opening examples with a third example.

All three of them share something in common and that is, in each case, they offer to the children—the black and Hispanic children who are performing at the lowest level—a challenge at the very highest level rather than at the lowest. In other words, they do not promise to improve basic skills. They go right past basic skills to the top. And they succeed. For example, the ninth grade regents' exam in New York includes algebra. That means that fifth graders would have to know enough algebra to pass the ninth grade regents' exam in order for that example to be true.

The third example I'll mention is a twenty-year-old project operating in the United States that amazingly has attracted little interest. I'm really puzzled about this. Professor "B" is hard to find—not many people would know about him. Dr. Escalante, a few have read about in the newspaper. But Project SEED has probably been the most publicized approach to teaching mathematics to young children, especially black, but also Eskimo, Indian, Hispanic, Appalachian white children, children in the Pacific Rim, etc. In other words, some years ago a six-foot-four-inch white male in Berkeley got tired of seeing his students fail in school and decided that mathematics would be a pathway to changing that and that he could change self-concept by teaching the most difficult subject at an early level. And, if he could teach the most difficult subject at an early level, children would gain a sense of efficacy and, as a result, would attack everything—not just mathematics. So, his goal was self-concept. Not mathematics. But while they learned advanced mathematics, the basic skill levels of the students went up as a byproduct.

I have a video film of a teacher who was taught by Bill Johntz teaching children in Hunter's Point, California at the fifth grade level. The video shows their fourth lesson as they begin to go through logarithms and discover the principles of logarithmic mathematics. Even as children expressed themselves in a language that you would call "nonstandard English" or "black language"—their understanding of the mathematical concepts was precise and they were enjoying these things. The excitement generated has been captured on video. The interesting thing about this particular example is that hundreds of teachers have been trained to do this. It's not Escalante—one savior alone—or Professor "B"—one teacher with two or three teachers. This is a teacher who has taught hundreds of other teachers to do the same thing all over the United States. The drawback is that the people he worked with are working as professional mathematicians in private industry. That means that someone has to find a way for those mathematicians to be released long enough to get the pedagogical training, which takes about six weeks, and then someone has to find a way to facilitate their working with children in public schools. That takes money and help over and beyond the regular classroom teacher. So there's a logistical drawback. Perhaps even a philosophical drawback.

I am less interested in the solution of the logistical problem than in pointing out that the instructional problem has been solved. Maybe we don't have to worry about the logistical problem. Maybe we have to worry about the nature of teacher training. If there is a way to train teachers that allows them to achieve these results, then maybe the teachers we now train should be trained that way. So, I'm curious as to why that example has drawn so little attention in spite of the fact that I know the universities know about it. I know because some of these children have been taught on university campuses. The African-American children in Berkeley have been taken out of these classes to freshman classes in mathematics in Berkeley. In New York, they have taken children out of Harlem to teach a lesson to students at New York University. This is just a demonstration—a gimmick—to get the attention of university types, public media, and so forth.

What is interesting is that having the attention has not produced a sustained interest by teacher educators. Still we struggle to explain why children can't learn mathematics here when they're learning it next door. I've never quite understood that.

Four Conclusions Drawn from the Success Models

If I had the time today, I would go through a list of these examples because I think they show us that success has nothing to do with public or private schools. There are successes in both sets of schools. It has nothing to do with race or social class of teacher. It has nothing to do with many of the excuses we use for our failure to install appropriate teacher training and services to children. I'll share with you briefly the conclusions I cited at the conference in Montana because I think they're an appropriate backdrop for the rest of what I have to say. I concluded from looking at a number of these examples that there were certain things that those examples taught: One, *you can teach all children successfully to perform at demanding academic levels*. This is very important to us as a nation. It's very important to us because we're all in the same boat. We must solve this problem—so that all children are performing at the same demanding academic floor at least. The ceiling can go anywhere but the floor must be a demanding academic level and all children must reach that—just as they do in Japan, West Germany, and the Soviet Union, etc. Our children are fully capable of meeting those levels. What these examples teach us is that in a short period of time we can reach those levels for all children.

And that is my second point—that *dramatic change is possible in a short period of time*. If we forecast that not until ten years from now could we achieve this, then we have underestimated both our teachers and our pupils. This kind of change is possible right now. Professor "B"'s raising the academic achievement level of the fifth graders to pass the ninth grade regents' exam occurred in one year. The Project SEED, in which Bill Johntz takes mathematicians from private industry to teach, has children working with high-level algebra concepts in four days. They begin to work with the first concepts in four days and over the course of a year or two, they become quite proficient. The Dallas public schools is one example of a school district that has incorporated this program. They've had it for four years. It's the only school district I know of that has had Project SEED for four years and they have just given it five years forward funding. As you know, five-year funding is rare in any school district.

My third point—*we have to disabuse ourselves of the notion that there are critical periods*. I think this is part of the general professional view that we've inherited. We think that if we don't catch children by grade four, it's too late, and that at the high school level, for example, we can't hope to turn around the academic achievement of students—say at the tenth grade level—because they have lost too much in the early years. What I'm here to say is that the successful experiences that I cited—and more that I could cite—are leading us to the opposite conclusion. It is never too late. You can teach people at 18, 19, or 20 in a way that they can master this floor of high-level academic achievement. You can do it in a short period of time.

The fourth point is that *we know right now what we need to do and we don't need any more research*. In fact, we probably need to ignore most of the research available. Even the good research, for example, the effective schools research, does not generally help us achieve the objectives I'm talking about. In the first place, the effective schools research (and I respect the work of Ron Edmonds highly—I think he was one of the greatest educators we've ever had and was absolutely correct in the conclusions he drew from the research he did) dealt with *minimum* competency criteria. Ron Edmonds asked the question, "Is it possible to achieve minimum competency independent of socioeconomic class, independent of other variables that normally explain school failure?" He discovered that there were many schools that were already doing that. Then he looked at those schools which were successful in achieving minimum competency and identified 10 or 12 characteristics of schools that worked. We all know about these and have had thousands of workshops on how to transmit this information about principles associated with schools that work.

Our people are using these principles as a checklist and are trying to organize themselves with what amounts to minimal information because the checklist in no way approximates the richness of the learning environment from which

they were derived. While the checklist is accurate, you can't work backwards from the checklist to a view of what actually went on. You can know that monitoring is an important principle, but you can't know what monitoring means unless you see it in a context. So, many people take the principles and treat them in ways that are not particularly beneficial to themselves or students. So, I'm not sure that the effective schools research is leading us anywhere.

Need for Ethnographic Research on Maximum Competency Schools

What I really want is ethnographic research on the maximum competency schools. I want to see ethnographic research on what Escalante is doing. I want to see what Bill Johntz is doing and what Professor "B" is doing. What are they doing differently from other teachers? I believe you will get something different from what we've gotten from the effective schools research on basic skills achievement when you begin to look at maximum competency attainment. That research has not yet been done. I would prefer that research to be done and then the results communicated. I believe it will be important not to talk about it in summary terms, by way of checklists, but rather to communicate it in some richer way. As I've indicated earlier, I think we can do that through observation, videotaping, and ethnographical writeups. For example, those of you who know the book by Shirley B. Heath, *Ways With Words*, would have an example of how to communicate about a case study so that the richness of what took place is maintained. If you would compare that work with the checklist summary you would see the world of difference between them.

No Single Pathway to Success

I concluded from looking at all these research experiences that there is no single pathway to success. The worst thing we can do is mandate a formula to school districts, classrooms, and principals. What they need to know is that "there is more than one way to skin a cat." They are, however, held responsible for "skinning cats." If they don't know how to do that, they need some help and maybe a kick or two.

There are no natural racial or ethnic barriers to achieving this success. Teachers of all races and ethnic groups have been identified with these successes. In Project SEED teachers are all colors and kids are all colors. Kids speak all languages. I'm one of the people who believes in multicultural education or, as they say, education that is multicultural or culturally salient. I believe in that, but not because it is required for achievement. Achievement can be brought about without multicultural education. All I have to do is provide appropriate pedagogy and children will change in their achievement. Multicultural education has another strong rationale that I would talk about if we were on that topic.

In order to do the job that needs to be done, we must realize that the best results come when the highest level intellectual challenge is presented. It takes an intellectual challenge. This is almost the opposite of what we think when we see children who are already dragging: to provide them an instructional approach that requires intellectual challenge is almost unthinkable. I can remember a parallel when they were talking about diet and regularity in your bowel movement. It seems you should be eating baby food because smooth food should equal smooth bowel movement, but it doesn't. It seems that to get smooth bowel movement you have to have roughage. So, it just doesn't fit cognitively, but it does in practice.

Dynamic Assessment Process in the Classroom

That's the way it is with children. I'm teaching a class right now working with Reuven Feuerstein's Dynamic Assessment at Georgia State University. I have to demonstrate to my students that they can bring me, at random, almost any child presently placed in educable mentally retarded or learning disabilities classes and we can get that student to do things they never would have predicted possible. I'm talking about adult-level tasks being performed by children who are being consigned to special education. They bring me their special education children. In the very next class they, the teacher education students, must work with children just like them and produce the same kind of results through imitation.

Last week, we had three little African-American boys walk in who were full of energy. They walked in cocky and when we got the bio on these boys, it was scary. Although they were beautiful kids and not threatening, they looked "hard to handle." When they first sat down they

were not very responsive to some of the instructional strategies. When we finished with those three boys, they had such a good time, they brought a friend the next time. Then the teacher came and the mother came—because something happened to the children at home as a result of what we had been doing in class. They went home with so much energy and fire because of the achievement they had made in the assessment that it spread in their behavior all over the neighborhood. They took my test materials home and began to give tests to other kids at home in the neighborhood, imitating what they had seen done. I wish I could tell you all the reports that we got back from only two sessions. No one in the class believed they were working with someone who belonged in special education.

This happens to us over and over again. When you get a chance to put the children into a structured situation and you know the quality of what you're offering and you see the results of that instructional intervention on the children, it shatters everything you think you know about I.Q. and achievement tests. Those children can be changed instantly. In fact, they're not really changed. All that has happened is that we have called on their intellectual resources which have been dormant. We haven't really changed them. They had that intellectual power all along, but we hadn't found the key to release it. So intellectual challenge was what we were giving them. They responded to it in a very exciting way.

Mortimer Adler stood up in a high school class in Atlanta, Georgia, where some of the faculty believed the children would not be able to handle the so-called "classics" and would not be able to discuss them with any degree of intellectual sophistication. These were actually extremely intellectually sophisticated students. When Mortimer Adler applied the pedagogy that he applies across the board everywhere, there was a tremendous amount of excitement and highly proficient performance from the students.

Success Models Not Well Known

The other conclusion is that the success models I've been telling you about are generally not known and they're not shared, especially by the colleges and universities. This leads me into the nub of what I want to say to you this morning. The success models are not known and they're not shared. One of the things I think a professional heart surgeon is responsible for—if you teach at Stanford—is knowing where all the good heart surgery is being done all over the world. That's part of your job as a professor. You're supposed to know that there's a Cooley down in Texas and a Christiaan Barnard in South Africa. If you don't know where the peak performances are, you're not considered to be on top of your discipline. Not only that, if you're at Stanford, you're supposed to be *a peak performer*—not a peak knower only. You're supposed to walk into that operating room and perform open heart surgery better than anyone else who's looking at you or you're replaced by someone better.

Now, we've imitated everything about medicine except that. We "diagnose" and we "prescribe," but *we don't perform*—if you understand what I'm saying. So, our success models are not shown.

Schools Alone Can Generate Achievement

The last conclusion is that schools alone can produce the academic achievement we're talking about. For African-American boys and girls, the schools alone can produce this academic achievement. I say that because we are not going to get mother and father for most of the African-American children whose parents are divorced to come to school and sit down and do tutoring. We are also not going to get most of them to do it at home. If mother and father are together, they're probably working two jobs apiece just to put food on the table. If mother is there alone, she doesn't have time to go to school with three children. For example, my daughter is a widow who is working one good job and can't make ends meet. She's doing all she can to keep gas in her tank and food on the table. Many women do not have the resources she has, such as a family who can step in and help. If we wait for parents to step in and do things, we have written a prescription for failure. As much as it is desirable to involve those parents, we don't have to have them do that in order to produce this achievement. Every example I cited was an example in which the professional educators brought about the achievement by themselves.

In fact, that was one of the surprising points in Ron Edmonds' research—that it did not take parent involvement to get the achievement. Some of the more recent effective schools research seems to emphasize the need for parent

involvement. I believe parent involvement is needed and desirable, but not for the purpose of teaching calculus. In other words, we can teach calculus without parents—in fact most parents can't teach calculus because they don't know it.

Therefore, what we're talking about is not discovery of how to do, but imitation of what is being done. Not discovery, but imitation. If that's true, why don't we imitate? If we really want to mobilize this nation right now to make sure that African-American and Hispanic and other children do not fail—what is it that we have to do? We have to imitate those who are succeeding! It's imitation and not discovery.

Ideology of Failure

Maybe educational research is causing us to believe we cannot achieve. Until such time as we begin to get productivity, maybe we have to close down the National Institute of Education for a year or two. Maybe we should begin to pay attention to the performers. What stops us? One, *ideology stops us.* We have a professional ideology taught in colleges of education and shared in the general community that says families are responsible for the low performance of children. We have another part that says the intellect is too low among children who are poor, and especially among children who are black and poor. We have another part of the ideology that says it may not be the intellect, but if you put capable children in low socioeconomic classes, the class will explain low performance.

Of course, these examples show you that Escalante would have to go to Beverly Hills to teach instead of East Los Angeles. Of course, some people say diet is responsible. That it has to do with living too close to the freeway. Lead paint. Lead in the exhaust. We have many excuses and there is research to support all of it. That is the literature I find being taught in the colleges of education. What can be done collaboratively to change this picture?

So, number one, we don't imitate because we have ideology suggesting that the causes for failure are not in pedagogy but in these situational factors that prevent children from learning in spite of pedagogy. That's false. Secondly, we don't imitate because we don't know there are people being successful. We're ignorant of success. We're not aware or we may be aware, but we don't see them. Or, we may be aware and we may see a school where the children are achieving at the 75th percentile in a place like Bedford-Stuyvesant. You say, yes, I see that and I see the school, but I don't really *see* it as a participant. So you don't know it. So there is no reality to the example until I am positioned to take in what is going on—to actually have an experience with it. So, that's why we don't imitate. We don't have the experience to imitate.

Teaching Performance

Finally, we don't imitate because we're not honest and clear about our own expertise, particularly in teacher education. What I mean by "honest and clear" is this: if I'm on the faculty of a college of education, do I stand before you as a person who not only can explain about performance but who can perform? Generally we don't talk about performing. We talk about explanation. So, my legitimacy in the university is determined by how well I can explain, not how well I can perform. I'm not ever expected to perform. In fact, I've been with universities for many years, almost thirty years, and no one has ever asked me to demonstrate how to teach public school children. I do because *I need to.* But no one has ever made that a requirement of my work.

Some of my colleagues even suggest that it's bad news to perform. That "you can be a swimming coach without knowing how to swim." That's what I've been told. That may be in some sense true, but in the area of education, unless you can show that you can truly be a successful swimming coach without swimming—unless your students are swimming, which means that your teachers are teaching African-American children to succeed at this high academic level—then I don't believe this rationalization at all. We have to be honest and clear about what we can do.

Now, what I suggested is that we need to imitate. But that means we have to collaborate. The weight of improvement now rests on the backs of the public schools. In other words, where things are going well, more often than not in my experience, the openness exists at the public school level. There are many things going on inside districts, even though they're isolated. Many things are being tried. There are fewer things being tried at the higher education level.

For example, in Detroit, the special education program has been radically transformed in the

past two years. Some exciting things are going on in Detroit. These programs will bring the higher education institutions and the state departments of education along with them. A representative from the special education program at the state education agency went back to the office the same day he saw the demonstration and kicked everybody out of the office and told them to get down to Detroit to see what was going on. There are a couple of universities in the Detroit area who have heard about it and are trying to find ways to link with it because it's an example of what they're trying to teach. The examples are not on the campuses.

The University's Role

I will demonstrate what I mean by "collaborate to imitate." Colleges in particular have an obligation here. Number one, the colleges and universities have a mission and an obligation to make success visible. They are best situated to describe, validate, and publicize. That's our business.

Number two, to document and validate. One of the pitiful things about the examples I've cited and others that I would have cited is that very few of them have drawn the attention of educational researchers. We have the tools but we tend to go more for things that allow for certain kinds of algorithms to be performed. We like large Ns (samples). You know, an N of 2000 is better than an N of 15. That's fine, but some of the successes you need to look at might not have more than 15 people associated with them. So, you have to find another way to look at documenting. How many people are involved with Escalante? Do you say that, therefore, he doesn't exist? That he didn't have the effect he had?

The colleges have an obligation to document and validate and they have the tools and capability to do it. The colleges also have an obligation to participate. One of the sad things I've seen is that most of these examples exist with no participation from colleges and universities. They exist in the shadow of great universities, with no one paying a visit. So we have to visit and participate. We have an obligation to record these things visually. If the SEED Project folded because of lack of administrative support and money, there will be people in this country who will say that it never happened. Fortunately, in that particular project they have paid to have certain evaluations done. The California State Department of Education did a very good evaluation. A couple of private companies did evaluations, not because of any real initiative from our colleges and universities. But, without these evaluations, one might say that the project never existed.

I mentioned visual recording. Dave Hornbeck [State Superintendent of Schools, Maryland] picked up this idea along with several other chiefs and they have already made a major effort to do visual recording of instructional success with low-performing children. The colleges and universities should make certain that these things are recorded.

If we're going to change this nation, we could focus our attention on three academic areas if we don't have the resources for all of them. We could focus on quantitative skills, language art skills, and history and culture. If we did those three areas well, we would transform radically the academic achievement of children in this country, particularly African, Hispanic, and Indian children.

Colleges and universities have an obligation to run Saturday and summer schools as demonstrations for communities so they can see what to do. We have some of them in the Atlanta area. For example, Morehouse College has run scholars' programs on Saturdays and trained many young people who otherwise would not have the math and science skills to the point where they have a fantastic success rate in producing mathematicians and scientists. If you notice the Japanese success in America, you should know that they spend an extra seven hours a week on homework for one thing. Other Japanese, especially those with foreign companies, spend an extra day in school (on Saturday). We have one of these schools in Atlanta. The children study history and culture and focus especially on math and science. If they give up anything, they'll give up in American literature, etc., because they know you respect the math and science.

Schools have an obligation in this collaboration to keep systematic information on dropouts and college enrollees so that we have some information about what is happening to children exposed to these programs. In terms of colleges and universities particularly, we must require grounded theory. We're the ones who

describe the real world. Unfortunately, we don't have grounded theory. Basically, what we fail to do in colleges and universities is provide a real description of what is happening to children. For example, we don't really know what is happening to African-American children in this country. We don't know what is happening to boys, who are the biggest failures in the country. I know part of what's happening because I observe them. But we don't have this on the record. For example, one of the things happening is that African-American boys generally don't have anybody—particularly an African-American male—responsible for their socialization in a consistent way over time.

What I just told you, we don't know because the research hasn't been done. We've been researching other topics, but we don't have descriptive information on the conditions that are really causing problems right now. This is not necessarily all the school's responsibility. I think a large part of the responsibility falls on the ethnic community. One reason the African-American community doesn't assume this responsibility is that it doesn't have the image of what's happening to its children either. I can tell you why there are so many kids on dope now. Part of the reason is the fact that they are poor and part of it is that they're not going to the summer camps, not going to the YMCA, not in the Boy Scouts, not in rites-of-passage programs, and not being taught their history and culture. They don't have someone—a responsible adult—who sees them three or four times a week. As a result of that, they're missing the opportunity to become socialized appropriately.

Where are the colleges and universities that are telling us in clear terms that this is happening? Of course, they're the ones to do it. The communities don't have these resources. We have to account for the variation in treatment of the children. If you want to know why African-American children aren't succeeding in school, one of the things that colleges and universities have to do is describe the differentials in delivery of school services. For example, some research in teacher turnover has shown clearly that there are some classes where black boys sit where they've had eight teachers this year. Certain schools, particularly in inner city areas where most African Americans are, about 270 school districts in America, never fill all their teaching positions because the districts are regarded by some teachers as undesirable. That means many classrooms are taught frequently by substitute teachers. You can't treat those classrooms as if they were the same as classrooms where teachers have been in place for ten or more years, or teaching the children of children they have known well. Yet, when we begin to explain the differential in student outcomes—in academic achievement in children—we leave out the difference in input. The researchers can help us not to make that error, which causes us to have some of our theories about incapacity in children.

Colleges and universities need to change their preservice and inservice field experiences, which are the worst part of teacher education. Teachers who graduate and are asked what the best part of their teacher education was will tell you that the best thing they had was student teaching. That may be true from their perspective, which says something about what they think the worst thing was. But I'm saying that student teaching, for the most part, is the worst part because we don't define master teacher by the right criterion. If you're talking about how to get African-American children to succeed, *a master teacher is one who can get them to succeed.* That's the definition of master teacher—not one who happened to be senior on the list and has so many degrees and who has been around for fifteen years or simply the available teacher. That may be good to start with, but ultimately a master teacher is one who can model teaching success.

However, that's not the criterion we use for assigning master teachers. Therefore, the student teacher who goes out has not often seen anyone be successful. The field professor, for example, who assigns this student—what are the competency criteria for this professor to teach? Is he able to do what he says? If not, I think we have a serious problem. I'm not sure you're really willing to tackle these problems, but if they're not tackled, we're not going to get anywhere.

We need to change the field experience so that we assign the teachers who are going to be working with African students to these true master teachers and to these true field professors. Finally, in terms of field experience, the colleges must maintain a repertoire of successful school sites. That means that you should be able to go into any college of teacher education—for example, here at Johns Hopkins—and the one

thing you should be able to get from the dean's office or the chairman's office is his list of the people who are successfully teaching African-American kids in Baltimore. Where are the schools where they're teaching kids successfully at the highest academic level in Baltimore? If you can't answer that question, then it seems to me you should lose your accreditation. If you can answer that question, it suggests some things about the nature of the field experience.

The colleges and universities need to balance the resources devoted to theoretical work versus applied research. We can't afford the kind of theoretical work now going on in colleges and universities. That's the stuff that gets me promoted. I get promoted if I can write an article that is published in *Psychometric*. I publish a new twist on orthognathous rotation of factor matrices to central structure *and black boys are dying*. What I'm saying is that, in my experience, we go overboard with those research priorities at most colleges and universities, especially in those institutions that are devoted to research. I think policies must be changed.

Next, we have to review the course work in colleges of education in order to eliminate things that contribute to the structuring of miseducation. I believe that one of the reasons why our children are not succeeding is that we're doing things to cripple them. Not only are we not doing things to help them; some of the things we're doing are crippling them. What are we doing to cripple them? Number one, we're running a tracking system that has never worked. The book by Oakes, *Keeping Track*, tells us about that. I don't need to go into it; you've already read it. The record of our research shows that tracking doesn't work. It especially does not work for the little African-American children who are stuck in the low track, and that structures miseducation. When we set up these systems and put great energy and resources into them and they don't work, we produce a structure of miseducation.

The other structure of miseducation is created by the use of I.Q. tests. Notice I did not say that I.Q. tests are biased against black kids—they are, but that's not my argument. My argument is that if you use I.Q., you're using an instrument that's never been helpful to anybody. So, if we organize ourselves to use it, we're structuring miseducation. We've been doing this for seventy years and can't seem to change our minds about it because there are so many vested interests in the use of I.Q tests. By the way, to change this in California, it took people outside the field of education to do it. We should have changed it ourselves.

I believe in special education for a small number of children, but it should be valid. If you put a child someplace special, the child should be better than if left alone and you should be able to prove this. Read the *Harvard Educational Review* of November 1987 and you won't be happy with what it says about special education. One reason it's not working is that we have all these false positives in special education. It may actually be working for the students who truly belong there, but we have false positives, students who are falsely labeled and placed in special education.

Finally, the absence of cultural salience [as a curriculum criterion] is troublesome. We need to review the coursework in colleges of education to determine that it has cultural salience. I'm embarrassed when I look at syllabae on child development. It's as if African-American children don't exist. They're not describing the cultural and social reality of African-American children. It's not that these children are different from anybody else physiologically, but that there are certain cultural and social things happening, which could explain why they are doing what they're doing, that are missing from the pages of textbooks because the professors who teach simply don't know them. I know of a whole body of literature that is unrepresented. That review can be done. All it takes is a few think tanks with the people who know these things sharing their knowledge broadly across the board.

My main point is that colleges of education must review their coursework to eliminate things that contribute to the structuring of miseducation. It's the review process I'm calling for without trying to specify any particular outcome at this time. These are only examples.

A New Research Reward System

Finally if colleges of education are going to participate in changing this system, they must present a new research reward system. If we really want to do something to make the colleges helpful, the reward system for professors in research has to be changed. For example, I get rewarded if I talk to you. I get rewarded for

having done this. If I do a study, I get rewarded. All I have to do is report that I've done a study. If I'm published in the *American Educational Research Association Journal*, I'm rewarded.

What I'm suggesting is that if we really intend to solve the problem for the children we're talking about, we must also make the research more meaningful. For example, you get rewarded if you get a study funded as opposed to an unfunded study. That's points on your resume, dollars for promotion and things. You get rewards if you get ten studies instead of one. You get rewards for getting published. You get rewards if you are cited. Frequently, someone gets cited 100 times for the same article and this is what we're paying for. Then there is the model where you get rewarded if when you do your work you provide a model of methodological algorithms. In other words, if I can do certain kinds of things in terms of experimental design and demonstrate that I can carry out these designs, I don't have to solve any educational problem. All I have to demonstrate is that I published and I get credit for it.

Let me draw the line on this. This is what we have to minimize. What is usually missing is research that gives a new insight to educational problems. That's the research that should be rewarded. Finally, there should be *rewards for valid pedagogy*. People should get bucks or something for coming up with the answers to the questions we're talking about. That's what they pay for at Cape Canaveral—the one who can get the missile off the ground. That's what they pay for in medicine—the one who can take the heart out and put it back. But in education we pay if they just follow the routine. The operation can be a success and the patient die, and you can still be promoted. There's something wrong with the criteria.

Better Use of Resources

I could go on, but let me conclude by saying where the resources will come from. This is a big issue. So, where do the resources come from for us to get the job done? That's the first thing we have to know. If we say that massive changes are necessary and possible and people go along with us, usually someone will finally say that we don't have the money. Let me tell you where I think the resources come from. First, I think we have most of the resources we need; it doesn't take a lot of money. One, we can get some of the resources by the valid use of the time we have. I refer you to John Goodlad's book in which he outlines the fact that we are not using what we have well. There is a tremendous amount of wasted resources because we don't use our time well for a variety of reasons.

Number two, we will make better use of resources and we will actually capture resources with clear, focused economical goals. For example, I said earlier that I know how to raise the academic achievement level of African-American boys. If you will allow me to provide these boys lessons in high-level mathematics and nothing else—that is a clear, focused goal—I will change a whole lot of other things associated with their school behavior in academic achievement and their community behavior. I will change the others by doing just the one thing. If I can't do everything, then why not focus my priorities on things that will pay off? Specifically, as I indicated earlier, the thing that is killing African-American boys is that they can't count; they can't read; and they don't know themselves. To a lesser extent, this is killing the African-American girls at the same time.

My experience with the little boys I was teaching the other night was that I had to help them with the simple test problems, but they were completing the more difficult ones on their own. This is exactly the opposite of what you would predict. Raven says you can't coach anybody to take his test, the Raven Progressive Colored Matrices. But we showed them exactly how to approach the test and they finished it. Each of the four boys, including the one I really thought had some impairment, finished it. We had teachers in the room who did not finish them all. But all four of these "slow learners," or "mentally retarded" boys got them all. When they found out that some of their teachers hadn't—they understood the *meaning* of what they had done and it gave them an energy you wouldn't believe.

The three things, then, are counting or mathematics; language arts (as in mathematics, higher level skills should be targeted, not spelling, but reading and discussing complex literature first and then going back and getting all the parts of speech, etc.); and history and culture.

As I indicated, most of the African-American children in this country have no knowledge of who they are. I wish I had time to talk with you

about the impact that has on them. The psychological impact it has on one to feel disconnected from the human historical stream and having February to fix it. Celebrating Martin Luther King in February, reducing black history to one great man and reducing one great speech to one great line—you can just say that February is "I have a dream" month. It's as if no one else existed. Garvey never existed. Malcolm never existed. DuBois never existed. Nothing happened in Africa until slavery. And our children certainly don't feel like human beings when they hear the Secretary of Education talk about how important it is to go back to the Greeks and Romans, and makes no mention of ancient Africa. I got this thing in the mail today mentioning that Bennett said everything in the world, including Martin Luther King and Ghandi, is due to Western civilization and tradition. And yet they will say that cultural education is not important for African-American people. And you want to know why they're failing.

So the last two things—where the resources come from—are to eliminate the false positives in tracking and special education. You're spending a lot of money on special education for kids who have no impairment whatsoever. The only impairment they have is impaired instruction. Finally, you get resources when your teachers know what to do and when they know what can be done. If I know that, then I'm going to be more efficient in the use of existing resources, if I know what to do and what can be done.

The people who came to me last week with those little boys first came to drop them off and perhaps sit in for a minute. One teacher stayed for the whole session and is now a member of my class on audit. She figures she is learning what to do. That will make her more efficient and it won't cost a dime. You don't need a new faculty, but the regular faculty in general has to be doing something different from what they've been doing. They are the best people to do it, but what they have to do is imitate success, not discover it.

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Resources

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Toward Building a Professional Culture in Schools

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My original title for this presentation was "Effective Inservice for Teachers of At-Risk Youth." Upon reflection I changed this, because you probably know that "inservice" is often considered a derogatory term by teachers, implying long hours of speechifying, or house calls from visiting consultants who do not share in teachers' risks and dilemmas; or inservice means something that someone does to you at 3 p.m., after a long and wearying day. The title metamorphosed into "Effective Staff Development for Teachers of At-Risk Youth," to give the impression that my discussion would focus on teacher growth and development as a continuing state of being, from recruitment to retirement. However, based upon questions and comments heard or overheard while at this Johns Hopkins gathering, I beg your indulgence and would like to retitle this address once again, and call it "Toward Building a Professional Culture in Schools." And to underscore what I want to say, I would add a subtitle by borrowing from the song Liza Minelli sings, "If you can make it there, you'll make it anywhere—it's up to you New York, New York!"

New York City statistics and numbers are overwhelming, particularly in education. There is just more of everything—"the good, the bad and the ugly"—in New York City. Consider some of the following facts. In New York City, 40 percent of the current teaching force will retire within the next six years. One teacher in five is not properly licensed. The vast majority of this group are often assigned to our most difficult schools. Minimally prepared and with little support, they are not likely to remain long. At the same time, our veteran teachers are opting for early retirement, citing such reasons as the intolerable physical conditions under which they teach and the paper work and patrol responsibilities which consume more of their time than the actual teaching of kids. Add to that—limited reward, recognition, appreciation, or encouragement of their work from administration and the public. New York is, nevertheless, home base for many professionals who are truly unsung heroes—committed and caring individuals who do not give up or drop out, despite overwhelming drawbacks.

There are now twelve thousand "hotel children" in New York City, who, if extant patterns continue, will attend as many as seven different public schools in a single academic year. Few will be present at any one school site long enough for a teacher to learn their names. Take a look at some of the numbers.

- In the past seven years the number of special education students in New York City has almost doubled. There are now 112,417 students in this group.
- As of June, 1985, the number of students in New York City receiving public assistance totaled 317,422.
- It is no secret that the dropout rate is unacceptably high in many of our city's secondary schools. Figures indicate that 31,644 youngsters will be first time dropouts this year.
- Immigration is at its highest level since pre-Depression years. In 1984-85, the school system was 72 percent black and Hispanic while ten years earlier, the comparable number was 63 percent. Our Asian cohort numbers 54,962.
- One out of every sixty babies born in New York City is born with AIDS. And there is hardly a family that has not been

touched by crack, cocaine, or alcohol abuse.

It is evident from this unpretty recitation of statistics that these children require from our school system the most mammoth level of support our creativity, energy, and resources can provide. It is also apparent that as the complexity of pupil deficits increases, the need for complex supports and responses will also need to increase. Of course, there are no simple solutions. What may be equally critical, but perhaps less widely recognized, is that the system must also address the need for special and powerful support for the 65,000 or more teachers of these children.

Teaching at-risk youngsters is extremely frustrating and offers few of the traditional teacher rewards—that is, the joy associated with teaching successful, achieving students. This is not to say that there is no joy in teaching a youngster who is both academically and emotionally needy. It is spiritually fulfilling and professionally empowering to be able to make a difference in a youngster's life. It is also extremely draining. How, then, can this urgency be addressed here and now?

Support for Teachers

Believing strongly that the conditions of learning and teaching are inextricably linked, the New York City Teacher Centers Consortium (NYCTCC) conceives its purpose to be to provide these concrete supports for our teachers, whether for strategy resources, collegiality, access to materials, or professional development. Just as we know that a child cannot be allowed to fall behind and be defeated, if that child is to progress constructively in learning, similarly, we cannot allow discouraged teachers to falter, or else they will fail and leave, or fail and remain. Neither option is desired by anyone, therefore, Teacher Centers offer supplements that nourish both the learning and teaching growth processes. The New York City Teacher Centers Consortium has a ten-year history, and embedded in that history are many seeds and lessons we see contemporarily championed in the learning communities now being built in schools. In particular, and seminal to our program, are ideas for restructuring schools, such as shared decision-making, and the place of research in teaching, in addition to understandings about the perils of collaboration, capacities to change school system norms, limitations on introducing innovation, and changing social relationships in the workplace.

To put the Center's work into historical perspective, American teacher centers were inspired by the success of centers in Great Britain. American centers opened in 1978, at a time when Federal resources were available. Diversity in program design, governance structures, and funding sources has always characterized the American movement. Early centers founded prior to 1988 in this country became proselytizers for various philosophies of education, such as open classroom and humanistic education, and were make-and-take facilities.

These earlier efforts were generally foundation-funded and tended to attract those teachers who already adhered to the basic ideas or biases being espoused. Other centers emerged through Office of Education support under the aegis of school district or university sponsorship. Often such centers were hardly more than college extension programs or bureaucratically designed inservice activities which lacked any mechanism for teacher input in program configuration. The present course of teacher centers is a confluence of several streams of current educational thought. Seminal studies endorsed what teachers have long recognized: that pressure to change education cannot be accomplished through fiat or mandate, and that innovation really takes hold where teachers are most involved in the development and implementation process, and where mutual adaptation of practice and context are encouraged.

Another, more potent sector promoting teacher centers was political and ideological in nature. Teacher unions, the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) in particular, saw the potential of centers as testing grounds for playing out an agenda of professionalism. They envisioned a teacher-sponsored system of professional growth associated with freedom and the opportunity to influence and impact on professional standards, practices, and preparation as natural rights and obligations of the profession itself.

It is this element of teacher power, the demand to shape their own profession, that Saxl and others have described as germane to the radical growth of the center movement in this country. Descriptions of the centers which emerged during the federal period (1978-1982)

burgeon the literature. The key roles granted teachers in the governance structure, a policy board made up of a teacher majority and endorsed by the bargaining agent, proved to be a major issue, a threat to the local educational agencies as well as to institutions of higher education. As a result, program content and structures were almost ignored. Notwithstanding this consuming interest in governance, and ultimately because of it, a large number of new structures and unique partnerships emerged. These partnerships demonstrated that teachers themselves can become agents of change, invent solutions to school problems, take on new roles, and initiate school improvement efforts and delivery services that can meet the educational needs of the student clients they serve.

In 1982, at the time federal support for teacher centers ceased, there were some 54 centers in existence, owned and operated collaboratively by the local educational agencies, teacher unions, and colleges of education, with a variety of forms and functions, yet specifically addressing what in their geographic areas were the most pressing educational concerns. As a result of the shift in federal funds and support in 1984, as many of you know, New York State took the opportunity to become the contemporary leader in the teacher center movement, by creating legislation and establishing a statewide program. Former Commissioner of Education Gordon Ambach was instrumental in helping the teacher organizations advocate for this program. Briefly, the statutory purposes mandate the creation of places and programs run by teachers, for teachers to (1) introduce the use of multiple instructional approaches; (2) establish demonstration sites for research, computer, and other technologies, as applied to education; (3) provide locations that would facilitate the sharing of ideas, resources, and methods of instruction; and (4) assist teachers who move to new or different disciplines.

At this time, over 91 centers are being financed through state legislation, with a budget appropriation of $16 million, a sum that exceeded the original appropriation of the federal government for the entire country. While it is difficult to estimate the exact dollar amount currently focused on this program, a good guess would be at least double the original figure, as centers have learned to use the state appropriation to leverage additional monies from local sources. The same legislation ensures that each center would be managed and run by local policy boards, each of which would be composed of at least 51 percent teachers. (Other members of policy boards include parents, administrators, and members of the community.) Consequently, local teacher "ownership" is a key feature of the New York State Teacher Centers and serves to distinguish them from many teacher centers outside of the state.

Local teacher domination has resulted in a network of teacher centers that differ among themselves substantially in focus, size, and structure. Also, because some centers existed prior to state funding, centers differ in their maturity. The extant network of teacher centers, each shaped by its own needs assessments, political forces, personnel, and local concerns, shares the standard features of all social networks. They are especially complex.

A Partnership of Educational Interests

What is emerging within the teacher centers is a model of great significance to teacher education. It is the first model based on the collaboration and interaction of a partnership of educational interests, a crucial test of the ability of teachers to direct their professional lives, and achieve full professional status. In fact, the state initiative in supporting teachers can be seen as implicit acceptance by New York State of the view that professional development performed by teachers will be more effective because of its greater likelihood of relevance and peer acceptance. In New York City, our Teacher Center is a collaborative effort, supported by the State Education Department, community school districts, the central Board of Education and the United Federation of Teachers, and from time to time, there are additional grants and funds from foundations. The Center has a service orientation, and adds to its character by engaging in various types of collaborative arrangements with other agencies, such as museums, foundations, and institutions of higher education. Explication and examples follow.

Our Center is not actually one place but a system of some forty school-based sites organized to respond quickly and thoughtfully to both school system priorities and individual practitioner needs. The Centers' components can be considered building blocks for any

comprehensive inservice program or infrastructure. Components include an Individual Development strand, a Course and Workshop Program, an Instructional Information Service, and a Coordinated Services Component.

In planning its programs and services, the Center takes into account the general perspectives, preferences, policies, mandates, and controls of the larger educational community and balances these against teachers' personal growth, sense of autonomy, immediate needs, and contextual variables. The Center is both proactive and responsive. While showing a sensitivity to bureaucratic demands, it appropriately responds to classroom conditions and realities.

The vitality of this operational model is embodied in the work of the Center staff. The attributes that distinguish their work and account for their success can be likened to Peters' and Waterman's characteristics of excellent organizations, wherein they suggest that such organizations are sustained by individuals who have a bias for action, work close to the client, are autonomous and entrepreneurial, believe in productivity through people, and stick to their knitting; and whose work is hands-on and value-driven. Rationale for the newer models of organizations like the New York City Teacher Centers Consortium can be found in the writings of D.S. Pugh (1973); Bolman & Deal (1985); John Naisbitt and David Crandall (1985). These authors conclude that human service organizations must fit not only the demands of the environment but also the needs of their members. They must have a great tolerance for ambiguity, and they must contain devices for providing linkages to the present, yet be futuristic in their view.

Teacher Center Specialists

Central and critical to the professional development strand are the Teacher Center Specialists—experts in teaching, learning, and staff development. Specialists are located in Teacher Center sites throughout the City. They work out of resource rooms which are used by teachers for examining instructional aids, preparing teaching materials, participating in workshops, and consulting with each other and the specialist. Individual services to teachers may include applications of computers to the classroom, organizing and managing instruction, modifying curriculum, and adapting instructional strategies or program design.

The creation of this structure and role grew out of a comprehensive survey of staff needs and preferences as to content and delivery conducted during our initial planning more than ten years ago. The need for such a role was confirmed in a more recent survey in 1986, when teachers once again indicated that they preferred assistance in their own classroom with their own students. Their desire for on-site assistance was consistent with two facts. First, that systems tend to emphasize program as their primary concern, while teachers are concerned with the day-to-day strategies for carrying out instruction. Second, viewed sociologically, the practitioner functions in isolation from all other adults, and this isolation tends to contribute to feelings of helplessness, alienation, and eventual disaffection. The Carnegie Forum's report, *A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century*, also recommends the creation of such lead-teacher roles in schools in order to drive and encourage workplace change, loosen the bonds of current heirarchical relationships, and reward outstanding practitioners with additional status recognition.

Our Teacher Specialists are skilled and sensitive master teachers, selected through a long and arduous testing process which includes recommendations from principals, peers, and the local union representative; an in-basket test where such entry level skills as problem solving are assessed; an interview where candidates are asked to amplify on questions in the aforementioned test, and where they are engaged in role play; wide experience in schools; experience in a number of different positions; and knowing the turf.

We take great care in matching the Teacher Specialist and school, taking into account the characteristics of both, then trying to match person to territory. We look for someone who will not be seen as a threat to the administration and will be respected by staff. Specialists are not advisors. Advisors who work with teachers tend to emphasize effects on children and to fashion assistance from a child-centered perspective. The Teacher Specialist, however, recognizes that viewing teaching and learning as a student-based problem, and generating the information necessary to confront the student's problem, will

not suffice to change teaching. To do that, in addition to considering student effects, one must view the problem through the teacher's eyes and constitute strategies for solution in terms of the teacher's perception of the problem.

In contrast to classical or formal approaches to inservice given by school district staff, the Specialist does not espouse a single mode of solution for similar categories of problems or needs. Thus, although Teacher Specialists have a philosophy, they do not espouse a doctrine. They operate with approaches rather than biases. They serve teachers on the basis of synthesized information, observation, and analysis gathered and developed in consultation with teachers. They do not do training.

The Teacher Specialists do not impose methodologies such as open classroom or programs such as Open Court. The program or the package is not the issue. Their task is to help one do better, whatever one is doing, and to respect the practitioner's right to make informed decisions about what methodology or program to employ. Existing and working in a real-world setting, within a system containing its own pressures and priorities, the Specialists seek not to radicalize teachers but to make them more effective. Their emphasis is on knowledge, process, and options.

Over time, the Teacher Specialists build a program of resources and services which match the character and need of the school, and also develop mechanisms for involving staff. Site committees are organized for purposes of developing growth and action plans for the school. Site Committee members act as informants and ambassadors for the Center. They become builders of the critical mass and advocates for the Center ideal. Our first participants are often our best teachers. They see the Center as an opportunity to become more involved and re-energized, and act as a core group in helping build Center participation. As the Teacher Specialist's influence grows, more teachers become involved. The nature of the conversation in the Center changes from grousing or avoiding talk about students and schools, to discussions about teaching problems or general pedagogical concerns, as well as more global issues in education.

As Rosenholtz implied, good schools with norms of collegiality and continuous improvement do not just happen. There is no "Oz," no magic potion that suddenly turns a school around. What there is, is people, and process that blends careful planning with flexibility as a key feature. What is certainly clear from our work is that new ideas, new roles, and new practices need time to root! The training of the Teacher Specialist is multidimensional—its major purpose is to increase the capacity of Specialists to function smoothly in their role. Specialists learn such clinical skills as conferencing, observing, and diagnosing, and consequently, they learn to analyze their own behavior.

Another set of skills that the Teacher Specialist must learn is perhaps the most critical. Its purpose is to provide insight into the context of the school and the problem of change. Major areas of training include the sociology of the school culture, adult learning and development, group process skills, examination of learning styles, and modes of communication. Over time they can use these understandings to champion innovative methods, reduce feelings of conflict and alienation on the part of staff, promote teacher leadership, and deal with the central concerns of teaching and school change.

Here's an example of how a Teacher Specialist went about helping a teacher who complained about state guidelines and time frames as they relate to at-risk kids. This particular teacher questioned the appropriateness of the content of the course, noting the absurdity of expecting continuity of instruction with children who are truant or long term absentees. She felt that often a youngster is set up for dropping out when, after a two-week absence, the child cannot catch on to the scheduled lesson. Lost and feeling inadequate, the student leaves permanently, feeling that catching up is hopeless. These are the Specialist's words:

This teacher in a Manhattan high school taught a repeat ninth grade class. At 14 years of age these kids were marked failures. There were twenty-seven students on register, with a daily attendance of twelve to nineteen. Six were hard-core cutters, affectionately called 'noshows.' Ten students were devoted to the teacher; the rest were incapable of coming to school every day.

By virtue of the fact that this was a senior teacher, she was determined to succeed with these youngsters. It was not easy. We began by separating every lesson

into self-contained units, independent of homework assignments. She used source material rather than text as a basis of instruction. This enabled every child to participate as long as he or she was present. Then we added to each lesson a reading component and a writing component. Based on this material a developmental lesson evolved for each child. Extra copies of the material were placed in an envelope in the back of the room. Returning absentees did not have to wait for the teacher to give them missed assignments or lessons. They simply followed the system and took the readings and worksheets from the envelopes. No embarrassment for them and considerably less frustration for the teacher. The opportunity to make up back work was ever present.

It was a challenging teaching cycle with the teacher coming often to the Center for additional material and advice on how to chunk the units into lessons. Luckily this teacher taught only one section like this and had years of experience to rely upon.

The second example, taken from our documentation records, requires some explanation which follows, but I think it is important to understand how state and local regulations for programs affect teachers. I hope this will help you appreciate the level of support and personal commitment that is necessary to drive a mandate. From the perspective of school-based personnel, the present wave of school reform differs significantly from the reform wave of the 1960s. Then, influential political and policymaking groups concerned themselves with larger socioeconomic issues such as school finance, desegregation, and equalizing educational opportunity. They brought forth legislation which embodied social policy, such as PL 94-142, Title I, and Head Start. What they did was fashion a framework for social initiative and to some extent, provide financial resources to translate the initiative into practice. What they did *not* do was to tamper with programmatic and practical implementation strategies or methodologies and materials, nor seek to impact on the personal work of teachers in classrooms.

What is happening now is considerably different in direction, content, implication, support, and resources. Here's what I mean. What follows is taken from a New York City school directive establishing our Dropout Prevention Program for ninth graders. There were several paragraphs explaining funding and rationalizing the formation of the program as an extension of the "house" or magnet school idea used in alternative settings to promote personalization of education for youngsters. The directive is very specific. It said, "...schools must identify blocks of twenty-five students...each block will include five classes: English, social studies, math or science and a high interest, career-oriented class and a tutorial..." The directive continues on three additional pages, detailing each component. There is no room for teacher judgment.

In one school where teachers were floundering at the start of the year, a Teacher Center specialist took the initiative for organizing and shepherding a program which they called "SAIL." I quote from the minutes of the session, (which, by the way, were also mandated). These are his words.

The Basic Dilemma

The fundamental problem this program faces is a philosophical one, and each of us must answer it for him/herself. Are we pandering to and coddling our students, or are we attempting to remedy a history of child abuse?

A child who has had no educational reinforcement at home has been educationally abused; a child who has been told over and over that he/she "will never make it" has been abused; and a child whose family life is a constant source of tension, preventing concentration on educational development, is abused.

In order to effectively remedy this kind of abuse, we must extend ourselves and reach out to these disaffected, hurt, abused youngsters. We must create a community that welcomes participation and honest effort. This doesn't mean that we are unmindful of our primary task, which is to educate—but we cannot educate youngsters who are not in attendance. I know that I would rather "coddle" a student for the year to two it takes to absorb a student back into our educational system, than to be forced to "coddle" them and their families for the next forty years through a welfare system.

As professionals, you know when to give comfort, when to be demanding, when to be forgiving, when to be unforgiving. Given the complexities, educationally and emotionally, of the enterprise we are engaged in, I can readily understand your confusion and consternation. Difficult as it has been, and continues

to be, what we are developing is the direction of the future.

The Front Line (Later in the Year)

Despite trips, assemblies, awards, health support services, guidance sessions, etc., the "battle" to retain our students is won in the classroom. If students are getting a solid education from teachers who insist on an orderly and efficient classroom, in order to promote that primary purpose, you will win their respect, admiration, and gratitude. Contrary to their expressed wishes and their superficial behavior, our students want a disciplined structure and a genuine education. When they know that you are sensitive to their individual needs and problems, they will respond.

You are all seasoned, veteran teachers who seem to intuitively know the correct balance between a disciplined, organized classroom and flexible, understanding responses to a particular student's problems. Although I have conveyed my gratitude to you privately in the past, I should like to take this opportunity to publicly express my profound respect for the very professional and very human way you have established a caring and educationally meaningful "SAIL family."

Flexible, Innovative Teaching

On greeting teachers new to the program the following year, the Teacher Specialist wrote:

In order to make the school an attractive learning environment for our students, we are asked to be "flexible, creative, innovative, etc." How was this done?

- *Mr. Douglas proved that peristalsis, not gravity, gets food into our stomachs by standing on his head and drinking water.*
- *Mr. Milo staged a "mock trial," with a student "in the dock" for coming late to class and thereby disrupting the class proceedings.*
- *Mr. Salin had his students create computer-generated graphics as covers for writing projects, thus engaging "left-brain, right-brain" aspects in the writing process.*

If you have an idea, try it out. If it's fun to teach, it will probably prove to be fun to learn. Hands-on activities are desirable. Ask veteran teachers in the program for their ideas.

The point that Mr. M., the Teacher Specialist, makes is that you cannot sell a product that you don't believe in, and unless these teachers were made to believe in their work, their work was not "doable."

Teaching at-risk youngsters requires practitioners who are positive as well as knowledgeable, who have a high regard for their students' potential, and who are humane and caring. I believe there is direct correlation between how one is counseled or "staff developed," and the practical performance of teachers. The first tenet of professionalism holds that the duty of professionals is to act on behalf of their clients, in this case, the students.

In order to carry out this responsibility, teachers require access to knowledge from a variety of research bases as well as from clinical sources. Such continuous opportunities for professional growth and high standards of practice call for workplace conditions which provide time and opportunity to plan to learn and to address particular problems of teaching. Adverse, nonfunctional workplace conditions which do not permit teachers to interact as professionals affect the quality of teachers' performance and students' chances to learn. This sort of negative combination of circumstances is abundantly apparent to all who work in schools, and is well-documented (e.g., "Models for Professionalism," Columbia Law Report, 1986; Carnegie Commission Report, 1986; Committee on Economic Development, 1987).

While the Teacher Specialists and their work at the school sites are the hallmarks of our program, the Center does have several other components which should be considered as part of building a comprehensive system of staff development. Each of our components features attention to building social cohesion, leadership through growth-producing activities, careful attention to content, and a wide range of instructional practices.

What else do we do? A Course and Workshop Program utilizes expert teachers as college adjuncts to deliver graduate level courses. Each semester we mount more than 80 courses and we serve some three thousand teachers a year. Course leaders receive guidance in tailoring courses to the specific developmental needs and

priorities of participants. Instructors are expected to question, to concretize, to provide appropriate activities, and they are able to respond to a variety of styles to allow for diversity. These instructors blend theoretical knowledge with practical knowledge and practical classroom experience. A graphic example of how the workshop program is designed was summed up by a participant in this way:

We're the shopping bag ladies—you know us. I came to the workshop with two shopping bags, expecting them to be filled up with materials and hand-outs. That didn't happen. Instead, I learned how to develop my own materials using the Mastery Learning strategy. I had to think about what I really wanted my students to learn, and to plan for specific learning objectives. What happened here reminds me of the story of the man who said, 'Give someone a fish and you've fed him for the moment. Teach him how to fish and you've helped him for life'...Here, you've taught me how to fish.

Evaluation reports indicate a high level of satisfaction with the content and delivery of the courses. More than 90 percent of the respondents indicated that they applied what they had learned to their classroom activities.

Our Instructional Information Service operates to identify, compile, organize, and disseminate educational resource information. Through computer searches using ERIC and other sources, educators are provided access to annotated bibliographies, journals, articles, curriculum guides, lesson plans, book reviews, audio-visual listings, research summaries, and software/hardware evaluations.

The Coordinated Services Component ensures the vigorous extension of Teacher Center activities to educational locales throughout the City. This is accomplished by an enthusiastic network of teacher experts who originate, develop, and implement such widely-recognized programs and processes as the Teacher Research Linker Program, Young Inventors, and Coaching Circles. Conferences, seminars, and summer institutes provide the impetus for linking classroom practitioners with talented and expert resources from the arts and from the business world, as well as from academic communities. Through this component of outreach services, teachers are kept in touch with the panoply of creative ideas and provocative approaches which can revitalize their commitment to their craft.

A Mini-Grant Program, our latest effort, is designed to enhance teacher professionalism, recognize and reward teacher innovation, and boost teacher morale. Priority for funding is given to projects which will improve workplace conditions and increase both teacher and pupil self-esteem.

Wonderful school-based programs have come out of this design! What is particularly surprising and gratifying to us was the response from secondary schools, special education teachers, guidance counselors, and groups who have traditionally not been predisposed to mini-grant proposal writing. Some of the proposals are particularly powerful and speak to the untaught curriculum. Examples follow.

- A support project to counsel unwed fathers and to offer training in parenting, family education, and sex education. They bring boxes of disposable diapers when they visit the homes of their children. Mothers want to join.

- A father and daughter who teach at the same school on the West Side developed an employment service called "Work" to sensitize the West Side community to the employment skills being developed in local schools.

- At one of our "problem schools," several teachers opened a Haitian Students Club to help new arrivals assimilate into the school community.

- A restructuring program for a large special education unit will attempt to incorporate teachers' special talents in art, music, design, and drama into the regular school day.

Each of the other fifty or so grants was a gem. None was self-serving.

In conclusion, we have used as a metaphor for our program, "Center as Laboratory and Mine." A *laboratory*, indicating a setting with resources, and materials, which encourages reflection, experimentation, and sharing with

like-minded colleagues—a place where it's okay to risk, to err, to admit mistakes, and to receive encouragement to try again. *Mine*, to signify the Center's capacity and ability to generate new knowledge, new ideas, and new practices as they emerge from teachers' work or the work of the Center. We have chosen not to squander our resources by spreading them thinly, but rather to create models for others to study and emulate. We feel vindicated by a number of changes we see taking place in the system.

Recently, a new contractual agreement offers teachers options for school-based management. As a program which has always been on the cutting edge, the Center is now considering its role as a catalyst for stimulating these restructuring opportunities. We have come to realize that professionalizing the teaching force means more than staff development, more than building positive work environments and addressing difficult teaching problems, and more than overcoming the isolation of the classroom. Taken together, these efforts are quite commendable and certainly defensible, but they are not sufficiently powerful interventions with which to build or sustain the quality learning communities which are being envisioned for all teachers and students.

To rethink, redesign, and restructure schools, support systems must be explicit, tangible, and available. To encourage problem finding/problem solving, to facilitate colleagueship, and to develop organized and integrated approaches to instruction, more than good-will is required. Technical assistance, know-how, and tenacity are imperatives to establishing systematic and organized new environments for teaching and learning.

If teachers are to participate actively in school-based management, school staff will need to undergo some process training in shared decision-making. If staffs are to make informed decisions, they will need to become familiar with examples or models of successful practices, alternatives to conventional teaching, and new configurations for school organization. Understanding regarding adult learning and leadership will need to become more explicit if teachers are to assume new roles as peer coaches, mentors, and lead teachers. Finally, all staff will need to become more worldly, more well-informed, and more knowledgeable in order to take advantage of the opportunities now before us.

Lecture from the Lunchroom: How Schools Must Effectively Respond to At-Risk Kids

Ward J. Ghory
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You have no idea how good it is for an assistant principal to even eat at lunch, let alone be seated, with a plate, at a table where the cover is not used to conceal trays and trash that a student has decided to ditch. One of the perks I enjoy is an hour and a half for lunch, but I do have to share my time with close to a thousand starving teenagers, just released from a morning of classes.

We're gathered over this lunch out of common concern for the problem of young people who are not successful in school. After re-stating this problem, I will propose three premises that can guide the way we think about the plight of these young people. Related to each premise, I will suggest priorities for action. As I patrol the lunchroom each day, a number of desperate, dangerous, heretical ideas come to me. I'm here and not in jail because I do not act on all of them! But I'm taking this occasion to try some out on you, because the nature of the problem before us demands that we reconsider the mission and organization of public schools from new vantage points—like the school lunchroom.

The Problem: Learners on the Margins of Schools

On the fringes of school there is a shadow population of students whose motivation and achievement are stymied. These are the young people who are not being well served by the American public schools. It's hard to get a good handle on numbers for this population. We know that nationally one in four students drops out of school before graduation, and nearly one in two students do not graduate in certain locations and among certain ethnic groups. The achievement of minority students still lags significantly behind that of white students, despite a decade of gains. Up to 40 percent of all junior high students and 60 percent of senior high students probably have trouble with academic reading materials, according to National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) studies. As many as two-thirds of the seventeen-year-olds still in school run the risk of becoming marginal due to inadequate writing skills. About one-third of all pupils achieve below grade level. One in ten secondary students gets suspended from school. Nearly all high school students experiment with alcohol, more than half with marijuana, and about 40 percent with other drugs. No doubt these varied groups and different categories overlap in many ways. Nevertheless, this discouraging, unrelenting refrain of evidence symptomatic of students who become marginal dramatizes the depth of this national problem.

To be marginal is to experience a strained, difficult relationship with educational conditions that have been organized to promote learning. The reality of marginality is that any student is at risk of becoming at least temporarily disconnected from full and productive involvement in school. Properly viewed, the problem is simply more pervasive than normally told, extending beyond the urban ghettos to the suburbs, beyond low achievers to the gifted. The well-adjusted cheerleader whose parent dies, the merit scholar whose first romance ends, the legions of young people whose family life is strained or broken, the children who get seriously injured or ill, the student whose class is changed to a different teacher. As parents know, anyone can be quickly knocked out of a pattern of productivity and go unattended at school for long periods of time.

With greater odds against success are the learners whose ways of handling information and developing skills are not favored by relatively monolithic school environments: for example, the learners who like to work with their hands, the extroverts who prefer to work in groups and have to verbalize continually to stay on task, or the intuitive thinkers impatient with step-by-step processes. What of the quick minds with special aptitudes and divergent intelligences, the linguistically different, the learning disabled, the physically handicapped, the culturally distinct?

The first stage of the current school reform movement has lacked the diagnosis required for reconstruction of schools that will be adequate to the problem of unsuccessful students. In my school cafeteria, I'm worried we're not analyzing the problem successfully. Higher standards, longer days, more homework will not reach my students until other work is done. Little long term improvement in equality and quality will be gained by simply intensifying the features of the school environment that have proven problematic to the very people we must assist. For schools to improve, we must find ways to reconnect marginal students.

In our recent book, *Reaching Marginal Students*, my colleague Bob Sinclair and I insist we use the term "marginal" to move away from the negative and divisive connotations connected with terms like "at-risk" that have dominated the diagnosis for reform. Counselors in my school district are required to have student files with "at-risk" emblazoned in red! The label puts the onus squarely on the individual, defining that person in terms of inalterable social variables like race, family income, family educational level, parent marital status, primary language—all viewed as deeply seated problems rooted in the individual. The "at-risk" orientation has several consequences.

First, schools have a tendency to get bogged down in *identification*, and to become fascinated with quantifiable variables describing students. My school district did a great study to identify students at risk of failing to be promoted; tracking attendance, grades, test scores, discipline, attitude, parent variables, the works. Using discriminant analysis, cut-off scores were discovered that predicted with 97 percent accuracy the students who were promoted. The trouble was that, the same variable scores indicated that 83 percent of those who failed should have passed! In other words, the kids who passed looked pretty much the same as the kids who failed.

The at-risk concept encourages such extensive, well intended efforts at identification, but leaves blank the question of how the school environment is responding to students. Intervention typically occurs too late, since we measure at-risk problems when students have reached a breaking point with school: dropping out, failing, being suspended, and cutting class. Further, strategies for intervention compatible with calling kids "at-risk" tend to isolate students for separate treatment. The hidden bias in the term shields the school environment from critical analysis, promoting pull-out remedial programs whose real result is to remove the learner from the setting in hopes that the serious challenge of changing the setting can be avoided.

To solve the problems of our schools, we need concepts that help us hold both ends of the individual/school equation in balance. The issue is not the child's background; instead, the problem is how the school environment relates to the child. After all, differences among students are not the real problem. The prime issue is the responsiveness of the school environment to the variations among students. Defining the problem as "at-risk" students leads us to accept the existing organization of schools and to try to fit the identified students back into the very setting that put them at risk. Thinking instead about learners on the margins of school environments draws our attention to ways the school environment must be adjusted to respond to that majority of learners who, either temporarily or more permanently, become disconnected from school.

With this said about the problem, let me state my three premises and discuss them in turn.

Premise I.

The mission of public schools in a democratic society is to provide quality, integrated education to all learners.

With regard to this premise, the origin of the American ideal of education for all goes back to the Greeks—mainly Socrates and the Stoics. They held that each and every human being, including slave boys, can have and ought to have the chance

for a philosophical education. For Socrates, philosophizing was based on nothing more specialized than the active use of practical reason, a common and universal possession of all humans. If the unexamined life is not worth living for a human being, then a society truly dedicated to securing for its members the conditions of a full and worthwhile life has the duty to make sure they get this kind of "higher" education.[1]

America has come a long way toward this ideal. Ralph Tyler is fond of recalling his boyhood in 1910, when only 50 percent of students attended school beyond the fifth grade, when only 10 percent graduated from high school and only 3 percent graduated from college. His perspective eases the pain of current dropout rates from high school, which have hovered around 25 percent for twenty-five years. It is because we have hit a plateau in our efforts to expand education, that we must re-examine our commitment to the premise of quality education for all.

To tell the truth, one reason we have dropouts is that educators have become too easily satisfied with not reaching students. Recent calls for equality of education are often met with a curious resentment, as if we were trying to protect those students who can learn under present conditions from those who can't or won't. There is considerable frustration with the shortcomings of previous reforms, and realistic skepticism now over our ability to adjust present schooling practices to accomplish the unfinished agenda with marginal learners. Many educators are closet cynics, even while demanding the best. Schools tolerate a significant degree of marginality, allowing individuals or subgroups to develop and sustain faulty relationships with other school people and programs. At base, many of us do not really believe all students can learn basic skills, much less philosophical reasoning.

So, one reason we are stalled in educational reform is the failure of educational theory. At one time, in Tyler's youth, we were able to organize schools that discouraged students from continuing—with grading scales that expected failure, with a curriculum based on the disciplines of the university, with a narrow band of didactic teaching behavior. Our schools are still based on misconceptions about teaching/learning, about individual differences, about curriculum, and about the improvement process. Further, these misconceptions at the heart of school organization directly contradict the stated mission of public schools. One priority for creating schools that reach marginal learners is to give a great deal of attention to how we think about students and schools. We need theory consistent with the mission of public schools that will help educators re-perceive possibilities for altering the difficult relations that too often develop between learners and school environments.

In practical terms, this means challenging and changing deepseated, hard-to-access beliefs held by educators, parents, and politicians. For example, schools are still organized around the belief that learning is primarily a passive, seat-bound activity. When we talk about instructional reform, we concoct programs that change what teachers do, not what learners do. The dominance of telling, lecturing, questioning the class, and monitoring seatwork as the instructional paradigm in most secondary schools makes sense only in terms of an "empty vessel" view of learners as passive receptacles to be filled with information. Yet, philosophers and psychologists have recognized the constructive side of learning, the constant process of making sense of the world. Sadly, in many classrooms, active discovery and problem solving are directly discouraged as disruptive. Student activity is to be controlled, not encouraged. The job before us is to realign school organization to a more concrete, dynamic, and social view of learning, which actually characterizes the preferred learning styles of many of the youth we must reach.

The prevailing misguided view of learning is linked to misconceptions about curriculum. The curriculum is typically viewed as an inert body of knowledge—a lengthy set of topics students need to memorize. The successive chapters of the adopted textbook form the road map for teachers, who feel pressured to cover the subject matter at a pace that unfortunately meets the needs of only a portion of their learners.

The responsibility for helping learners find meaning in subject matter, relevance in educational values, and power in intellectual or technical skills is at the heart of the school's mission. The curriculum is a means of creating the significant relationships among teachers,

students, and the world in which these ends can be accomplished. The curriculum is not an end in itself, as the pronouncements of some subject matter authorities (and many colleges) seem to imply. Particularly for marginal learners, it is useful to view curriculum as a connective medium linking teachers and students. Incomplete learning and inappropriate behavior suggest weak curricular connections among learners, subject matter, and teachers. In many classrooms, the only real "subject" is the content itself, for the teachers and learners are caught in ritualistic relations in service of an abstract body of knowledge. To diagnose learning problems correctly and restore connections, an expanded view of curriculum is needed, one that conceives curriculum in terms of the total environment in which learners live and act.

Beliefs about learners, about ability, about curriculum must change if we are to reach marginal learners. No matter how promising a strategy for reform may be, if it is not incorporated into teachers' personal belief systems, it will be unlikely to affect behavior in the desired direction. We do know something about how beliefs change. Unfortunately, the process holds little promise for a political quick fix, for a "shake and bake—just add water" model resulting in quick answers. People must first become aware of their existing beliefs and see a need for changing them. This is the motivation behind emphasizing my first premise of returning continually to the mission of our schools. Analysis of school practices in light of the mission to reach all learners provides numerous points at which to challenge current beliefs.

But beliefs change only in a supportive climate, where relationships are friendly, individuals feel important, and their participation is encouraged and valued. People must have opportunities to confront ideas, problems, and goals; and chances to discover and explore new ways of seeing and thinking in interaction with other peers under the guidance of experienced mentors. Finally, they have to experiment, hypothesize, make mistakes, modify positions and try again, preferably with others of like mind. Beliefs change in interaction with practice. One reason it is critical for universities to collaborate with schools is that the theory that guides our practice is the truly fundamental stage for reform.

Premise 2.

The prevailing organization of classroom instruction, which has been successful with a minority of students, actually hinders the accomplishment of the school's mission with many learners.

Schools generally rely upon a relatively monolithic model for schooling. Large groups (15 to 40 students) are scheduled on a set timetable according to age and subject matter. As Benjamin Bloom emphasizes, group instructional procedures employed with individual students who vary in many characteristics must produce variations in the accomplishment of a learning task, both in the level of achievement of the task and in the rate at which it is accomplished.[2] Yet teachers are expected to cover a loosely defined body of factual material in a set time period, despite differences among learners.

Any relatively monolithic model of teaching and school organization presupposes a particular type of learner who is favored by this environment. Anthropologists and cognitive psychologists have made progress in identifying detailed profiles of the cognitive skills required for success in large group, didactic instructional modes. Among these skills are a preference for being analytical in attention and thinking; a preference for being stimulus or object-centered rather than self-centered; and the abstract ability to classify events, ideas, or people into broad categories, using non-obvious features. The achievers in school are likely to be systematic, analytical processors of information.[3]

Not all young people work best in this way. Many students forced to the margins of school tend to be relational, intuitive learners. They are oneshot thinkers more easily influenced by others. Often, they need cues and prompts from the environment to solve problems, and they have trouble providing their own structure while completing assignments. They prefer to learn in people-oriented work environments, responding best to responsive teachers who use positive reinforcement techniques. They like projects involving auditory and kinesthetic approaches. They remember and analyze information best when it is placed in a social or personal context.[4] It is essential to realize that both types of students can and do learn. It is the monolithic nature of the large-group, didactic setting in

schools that masks the strengths of some students while enhancing the achievement of others.

Let's take mathematics, the "killer" subject, for our example. Mathematics is taught primarily as a set of rules, handed down by experts for novices to memorize. In a word—intimidating, especially to adolescents with problems accepting authority. One line of research by Alan Schoenfeld at the University of California (Berkeley) and by John Seely Brown and Richard Burton at the Xerox Palo Alto Research Center traces the mathematical errors typically made by students to teaching techniques. They've found they can predict student errors accurately, because the mistakes students make are not random. Rather, they are due to sensible interpretations of experiences they have had in classrooms. Since math is taught as a series of thousands of small exercises designed to test student mastery of algorithms applicable in precise contexts, students believe math problems can be solved quickly if the right procedure is followed. Little reference is made to formal mathematical knowledge or even to informal experience with numbers when solving the dreaded word problems. Instead, there is a desperate, one shot stab for the formula. Students study mathematics passively, as a closed, rule-driven, system to be obeyed by all but understood by a few. So they are easily paralyzed, unable to transfer what they know to a different context.[5]

While in school, learning (and evaluation) are primarily individual. However, in work, personal life, and recreation, each person's ability to function successfully depends on what others do and how several individuals' mental and physical performances mesh. Second, in school, the emphasis is often on "pure thought" activities, work done without the external support of books, notes, calculators, etc. Outside school, one has free access to supporting information, and the kind of work done usually depends directly on what tools are available. Third, school learning is mostly symbol-based, and connections to the events and objects symbolized are often lost. Achievement becomes a matter of learning symbol manipulation rules, and of speaking or writing according to those rules. Outside school, people often use objects and events directly in their reasoning, without resort to the symbols that may represent them. Because they are continuously engaged with objects and situations that make sense to them, people who did not do well in school don't forget what's important, and transfer what they know from one setting to another.[6]

So we have devised an artificial system of learning in school, one that does a decent job of preparing the top percent or so for college. The problem is we are trying to stretch that system to accommodate students who do not learn in ways favored by that organization of instruction. To reach more learners, particularly those not well served by existing settings, requires expanding the school environment to contain multiple means for accomplishing common objectives.

To build a curriculum that includes all learners, we need to look first at learners' academic and personal strengths. Greater concern must be given to helping students develop and demonstrate thinking skills and problem-solving capabilities, moving beyond the current emphasis on exposing students to certain bodies of knowledge for specified lengths of time. In this direction, the requirements of the curriculum are directly tied to student learning, and school subjects are restructured to create opportunities for young people to use information and explicit thinking strategies to make sense of situations or problems.

It is promising that the new programs claiming to teach thinking skills have three key features in common. First most of the effective programs have features characteristic of out-of-school learning. They involve socially shared intellectual work, and they are organized around group accomplishment of tasks. Second, they have elements of an apprenticeship. There is room for participation in productive activity even by the relatively unskilled. Further, teachers act as intellectual coaches, making explicit thought processes that are usually hidden and encouraging student observation and commentary. At least in these programs, we are realizing that significant learning takes place in the context of a significant relationship with a more expert and articulate leader willing to coach the novice in skills. Third, the most successful programs are organized around significant problems to be solved or vital questions that connect with student lives.[7]

Another simple truth too often lost in the stack of textbooks we give to promote learning is

that you can't teach truly critical thinking without consequential subject matter. The reverse is true, as well: how can you teach consequential subject matter without requiring resourceful thinking? If we start from the premise of learning for all, we arrive at the priority of a curriculum reconstructed to permit more small group problem solving, mentor/protege coaching, and direct contact with real world, social and moral issues.

The curriculum challenge posed by marginal learners is to design learning activities that engage the passion and curiosity of the young. Teachers have to create or draw from history and current events problems, simulations, and projects that require the development of the skills being taught, need cooperation for successful completion, can be illuminated by outside reading and research, and can be clarified using concepts from the various disciplines. So often, we teach the content in a linear abstract fashion, using examples as an afterthought. If we want to engage marginal learners, we will have to start more often with the concrete situation itself, and bring the precedents and concepts from the academic disciplines to bear as appropriate. This re-alignment of the curriculum leads us inevitably beyond the school walls.

Within and around core courses, schools serious about reaching marginal learners and intent on providing a quality education for all learners must foster a variety of experiences making use of the non-school setting. In general, teachers can make curriculum contact with society in three ways.

First, teachers can capitalize on experiences already taking place in learners' lives outside school. In an "informal" way, teachers draw upon and extend the unorganized reservoir of knowledge students have from daily experience by connecting it with the school curriculum. Second, teachers can deliberately combine school and nonschool environments to promote learning. In this "formal" approach, the teacher supplements classroom learning by deliberately organizing speakers, field trips, audio-visual resources, telecommunication, projects, laboratory activities, research. These are the relatively infrequently used traditional means to bring the students to the world and the world to students. The third approach is to assist in placing individual students in other settings for specific experiences in a set time period. This "nonformal"[8] approach creates opportunities for learning like apprenticeships and internships that are systematically related to the school curriculum but take place under the authority of a nonschool agency (like a university).[9]

To re-align the organization of instruction in the ways indicated, variable time periods and flexible grouping would have to be used to accommodate several modes of instruction. To make this workable, smaller administrative units (like the house system within a larger school) would be necessary. In these units, teams of faculty, administrators, counselors and students would work away from the time-based factory model toward the outcomes-based, community-of-learners model necessary for the success of students on the margins.

Curriculum and governance decisions would have to be made flexibly and collaboratively within these communities. Frequent formative evaluation of students' progress would provide information to guide these decisions. The testing of individuals would be one way to check if each learner is being appropriately challenged, not a means to separate out students for unequal access to knowledge. To make informed decisions about the proper match between curriculum and student, more teacher time must be created along with resources to implement the strategies that are developed. These are some of the necessary conditions for true curriculum reorganization for marginal learners.

Premise 3.

The social organization of schools—its current array of adult roles, responsibilities, and regularities—subtly blocks and undermines the collaborative processes needed for reorganizing curriculum and instruction.

Schools are closed institutions. Like the antebellum Southern plantation, like the mental hospitals or prisons studied by Erving Goffman, they tend to be total social systems, self-sufficient and enveloping. Schools feed, protect, instruct, counsel, medicate, and recreate young people. They are the second home for latchkey children and adolescents. They provide a largely self-enclosed frame of reference for the actions and thoughts of their participants. These

characteristics of a closed institution must be considered when we presume to reorganize curriculum. Today, I'll focus on two features of a closed institution especially relevant to the change process—communication and time.

Let me illustrate the communication issue first with an anecdote from a small Catholic girls college preparatory high school I visited as part of an evaluation team. As the art teacher told me, "We're in our own orbit out here." Built on a series of exclusions—race, gender, religion, and social class were basically controlled—the school did an excellent job of creating a nurturing community with fine academics. However, even in academic departments of three to eight teachers working in a stable, low-problem environment, communication about curriculum was quite strained. At this school, as in most others, a proprietary curriculum had developed, in which certain courses were identified with particular teachers. All the ninth grade English was taught by one woman. To talk about the ninth grade as part of a sequence of skills and content in English was really to talk about this woman, at your great peril in this case. The fact that she did not like to teach writing and minimized its importance was tolerated, not mentioned really, because there was thought to be a cost in damaged friendship and hurt professional feelings if the subject were broached. School curricula are balanced on such fragile compromises.

One result of working in a closed institution is great difficulty in communication. In fact, one of the main roles of the assistant principal is to resolve conflict resulting from failures in communication. Parents with a concern seldom go directly to the teacher involved. They call the principal who has the good sense to refer such calls to the assistant! It is not unusual for a teacher who has worked next door to another teacher all year to direct her complaint about that teacher to an administrator, instead of bringing it up for discussion with her colleague. Department heads come to the office with worries, more likely rumors, about their colleagues which they have not yet discussed with them. One department head came in tears over a problem she could not bring up with another teacher because, as she said, "Dr. Ghory, I'm married to my job and depend on the good will of others." Most people depend on authority in schools because communication is so poor that reason has little chance to prevail.

Another characteristic of a closed institution is the ritual use of time. One reason for poor communication is that teachers and principals feel hemmed in by their master schedule. Into a set framework of class periods and student groups assigned to teachers must be fit not only instruction but all the other activities required to accomplish the myriad objectives associated with schools. Once a school has been allocated staff and has scheduled students, the die is more or less cast for the year. Any student need must be answered within this framework.

For example, the conventional schedule provides limited and inflexible time for teachers to conduct the professional tasks needed for successfully instructing marginal learners. During a school day, secondary teachers typically have one thirty to forty-five minute period, plus class passing time and a short lunch period, to prepare materials, to organize for different groups and subjects, to evaluate or document pupil progress, or simply to reflect and imagine. Normally, no additional out-of-class time is set aside to meet with students or to communicate in planned professional ways with other faculty. Many essential professional activities necessary to reach children having difficulty are coldly relegated to the teacher's discretionary personal and family time outside the regular school day. The rapid, lock step, assembly-line pace of the school schedule encourages teachers to develop instructional short cuts and routines geared more to their own convenience and survival than to their students' needs for responsive attention.

In a word, inflexible schedules leave schools "frozen." Teachers become so stuck in existing time and procedural arrangements that their capacity to be flexible, to change and adapt to marginal learners, is severely curtailed. What develops in a closed institution is a "means mentality." Educators confront challenging ideas for improvement by asking if these ideas can be implemented within the already established way a school functions. When a problem emerges, a new procedure is developed that submerges the issue back into what already exists. In short, the means are treated as if they were the ends to be served.

To reach and teach marginal learners, that group who won't disappear, the social system of

the school must be opened. Reform makes little headway in schools where a static organization discourages school improvement or professional development. For more teachers to move to a pro-active desire for renewal of self and school, they must sense an opening in their own school to assess and correct school practices hindering their ability to help students learn.

The necessary groundwork for reform is a re-examination of the social system of the school, especially of the roles of the principal, teacher, parent, student, and university faculty as these people interact to promote student learning. The special role of the principal is to lead teams of teachers, parents, and students through instructional and environmental problem solving.[10] As symbolic and cultural leader of the school, it is the principal's responsibility to articulate the public school mission. Practically speaking, this involves encouraging teachers and school staff to believe in the capability of their learners and in their abilities to create vigorous ways for all students to learn. Prior to problem solving in any school, but especially in schools that have a sizeable population of marginal students, it is the principal's job to build a platform of shared concerns, positive attitudes, and common goals.

For principals to be able to keep their heads above the administrative details of managing schools, the social system of the school has to stretch to provide meaningful linkages with local universities. A principal is more likely to find at a university the technical expertise, the broader theoretical view, and the access to supplemental resources needed to conduct school problem solving. Involvement with schools need not be a low-priority, altruistic activity for university faculty, especially when one realizes that we have really "one school" stretching from K-16 or K-20. Particularly schools of education, whose raison d'être centers on preparing school personnel, are coming to see that their curriculum cannot simply consist of a prescribed list of courses. The relationships between faculty and graduate student necessary to prepare leaders capable of transcending the limits of existing social systems have to extend long after the courses are completed and far beyond the safe precinct of the university lecture hall. They must continue for many years into the schools themselves.

Of course, the reward structure of most universities does not support such "foolish" squandering of time away from research and publishing. But to prepare succeeding generations of students for college, schools and universities must continue to cooperate in far more ways than the current, exploratory approaches that have been tried.

The special role of the teacher is to intervene when students are struggling with learning and starting to show signs of becoming marginal. We have an obligation to help students become more powerful learners by teaching them the identifiable learning skills related to success within prevailing classroom conditions. Every learner, especially marginal ones, needs coping skills of four types: learning to learn skills, content thinking skills, basic reasoning skills, and communication skills.[11] In most classrooms, it is simply mumbo-jumbo to argue that these skills will automatically cohere through the magic of the liberal arts curriculum. In fact, when teachers place a greater emphasis on teaching students strategies to process information covered in class, both marginal and more successful learners stand to benefit.

Still, when students consistently have difficulty relating successfully to classroom conditions for learning, the individual teacher has to adjust curriculum and instruction to connect more productively with the characteristics of these marginal learners. Genuine concern for marginal students will inevitably produce reorganized classrooms, despite real and perceived school, district, and community constraints. Again, it is the thinking and commitment of teachers that must be stimulated before technical issues of implementation be considered. Teachers best approach the difficult task of changing habitual teaching practices that are not working with marginal learners by communicating regularly with other teachers, parents, and counselors. As mentioned, some of the aspects of a learning environment that can be adjusted to encourage fuller participation and more successful learning include instructional grouping, curriculum organization, curriculum evaluation, teacher expectations, and the use of non-school settings.

The special role of those who act as guardians for children and youth is primarily to "parent well." All children and adolescents need the best

base of consistent physical, emotional, and spiritual security their parents can provide. It is a full time role to build a relationship that can last through adolescence. Marginal learners especially need advocates who can call halt when school practices are not favorable. But they also need advocates who can consider and interpret for students the advice school professionals provide.

For the key to turning around learning problems is often a team approach. Schools successful with marginal learners have found ways to open their social system to parents. Teachers have the responsibility to alert parents to trouble signs and to demonstrate concern, extra effort, and individual attention to marginal students. Parents must also work with teachers without concealing problems and without automatically assuming critical and adversarial viewpoints. Many strains confounding school environments can be traced to failures on the part of the adults closest to children to assume these obligations. Parents and teachers can work together to identify how a person learns best, to diagnose skills and content needed, to set attainable and optimistic expectations, to reinforce consistently desired behavior, and to encourage young people to learn well. With marginal learners, only the personalized touch within the group setting can make the difference.

Ultimately, the fate of marginal learners lies in their own hands. Very little substantial progress will occur until they become aware in a realistic way of how they are performing and use this awareness to begin to control what they are doing. The special role of the marginal learner is to make a sustained commitment to perform better at school. Coming back from the margins is fundamentally a process of personal growth involving greater control of one's self and one's learning process. Marginal learners have the responsibility to monitor and control their own attitudes, realizing that attitudes affect behavior and that attitudes can be controlled. Educators and parents respond to attitudes. Positive ones—like "Effort pays off," "This task can be done," "Be persistent"—create their own momentum. Students have to see school less as a place where outside forces manipulate them, and more as a job they approach with personal strategies and goals. At bottom, perhaps the most challenging aspect of renewing schools for marginal and other learners is creating this kind of consciousness and commitment among immature and initially resistant students.

Conclusion

The remarkable stability of our schools is due to the equilibrium that exists among three supporting elements: educational theory, technology, and social system. Each of my three premises touches on one of these elements. To go beyond institutional maintenance to the building of institutions that can reach all learners, we must become aware in a far more sophisticated way than at present of the interactive relationships among theory, technology, and social system.

Believe me, the assistant principal in the lunchroom needs the support of organizations like the Chief State School Officers, the state departments of education, and the universities to keep the true mission of the schools in mind and to challenge the misconceptions about learning, curriculum, and students that justify and rationalize the current organization of schools. Your recent statement of "guarantees" is an important document in this light. The theory on which the professionals inside school act gets its essential meaning and significance from the outside world, and we must implant within the public mind the image of the profession and of schools upon which we want to act. Perhaps the real contribution of all the reports on education has been work at this theoretical level.

Yet, reports seem unrealistic unless grounded in a critique of our core technology—the classroom (that 19th century invention) and the monolithic model of instruction that is appropriate for only a minority of students. Successful learning involves a knowledge base, strategies for use of this knowledge, and control over the strategies. To help more students learn, we have to rethink what is the important curriculum content for all learners, identify what strategies students use to make best sense of this knowledge, and guide them in gaining control over these strategies. In an alternative technology based on this analysis, students will work more collectively, engaged in concrete investigation and problem solving of social and moral issues. Teachers will circulate, consult with learning groups, and intervene to make students justify their strategies and gain control over their own learning.

To develop this technology, we cannot hope for an organizational model to import from outside school. Rather, we will need to develop the social system within schools that will encourage teachers, parents, and students—with leadership from the principal and support from the university—to solve problems blocking the progress of marginal learners. Schools can improve from within, problem by problem. They can adjust or revamp their technology, based on insights derived from questioning theory, if their social system can open to admit the intimate perspective of parents and the theoretical insights from university faculty. If we are serious about the mission of our schools to help all students learn, we must be courageous and creative in simultaneously changing the theory, technology, and social systems that have given us schools that tolerate too much failure.

Notes

1. Martha Nussbaum, "Undemocratic Education," *The New York Review of Books* November 5, 1987, p. 25.

2. Benjamin S. Bloom, *Human Characteristics and School Learning* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1976), p. 29.

3. Barbara J. Shade, "Cognitive Strategies as Determiners of School Achievement," *Psychology in the Schools* 20 (October 1983), p. 488. See also, Rosalie A. Cohen, "Conceptual Styles, Cultural Conflict, and Nonverbal Tests of Intelligence," American Anthropologist 71 (October 1969), pp. 828-856.

4. Robert L. Sinclair and Ward J. Ghory, *Reaching Marginal Learners: A Primary Concern for School Renewal* (Berkeley: McCutchan Press, 1988), Chapter Four.

5. Barbara Vobeyan, "A Mathematician's Research on Math Instruction," *Educational Researcher*, December 1987, pp. 9-12.

6. Lauren B. Resnick, "Learning in School and Out," in *Educational Researcher*, December 1987, pp. 13-20.

7. Ibid., p. 18. See Lauren B. Resnick, *Education and Learning to Think*, (Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press, 1987).

8. The use of the terms "formal," "informal," and "nonformal" follows the definitions advanced in Philip H. Coombs with Manzoor Ahmed, *Attacking Rural Poverty: How Nonformal Education Can Help*, a research report for the World Bank prepared by the International Council for Educational Development (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), pp. 7-9.

9. For an extended discussion of ways to combine school and non-school environments, see Robert L. Sinclair and Ward J. Ghory, "Curriculum Connections: Combining Environments for Learning," in Mario Fantini and Robert Sinclair, *Education in School and Non-School Settings*, Eighty-Fourth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), pp. 230-244.

10. While it is possible to overstate the leadership function of the principal to make it appear that the principal is acting alone in school renewal leadership, the truth of the matter is that a second change facilitator is nearly as active, and in some cases more active, than the principal. See Shirley Hord, Suzanne Stiegelbauer, and Gene Hall, "How Principals Work With Other Change Facilitators," *Education and Urban Society* 17 (November 1984): pp. 89-109.

11. For an elaboration of these skills and of skills instruction, cf. Sinclair and Ghory, *Reaching Marginal Learners*, op. cit., pp. 99-107.

Distance Learning: The Oklahoma Model

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Sandy Garrett
Director of Rural Education
Oklahoma State Department of Education

JOHN FOLKS: I want to make a few introductory remarks about the program that we have in Oklahoma and then call on Sandy Garrett to describe the programs. She's the person who has probably been most instrumental in putting the program together. In addition, we have a video presentation on the Oklahoma model to show you.

I became state superintendent several years ago, right at the time that this so-called "excellence" movement in education was happening. If you want to really understand the challenge we faced, you must understand that our state consists of 611 school districts, most of those school districts being rural. Over two-thirds of the school districts in Oklahoma have an average daily attendance of less than 500. Approximately three-fourths of the school districts in Oklahoma have an average daily attendance of less than 1,000, and are geographically separated, many miles apart in many instances. How could we really go about addressing this question of excellence in education?

The concept of distance learning ties in strongly to the conference topic of school and college collaboration. We decided at that particular time that schools could not do it themselves. We as a state department of education could not do it ourselves. We had to call upon expertise from people all over the state of Oklahoma to address the question of how we were going to effectively deliver instruction to many of the schools in the state of Oklahoma. I promoted several initiatives at that particular time that I still talk about quite often:

1. Keeping the momentum for change in education going in the state;

2. Keeping our focus on excellence, but not forgetting the equality part;

3. Orienting our schools to the future and using the available technology; and

4. Forging of partnerships between businesses and schools, businesses and the State Department of Education, colleges and universities, etc.

Looking at those particular initiatives, we realized that we were really going to have to address the problem of equal educational opportunity. People define that in many different ways. I believe that equal educational opportunity for students in Oklahoma means that a student in Gotebo, Oklahoma has just as much right to take a calculus, chemistry, or foreign language course as a student attending classes in urban or suburban Oklahoma City or Tulsa. We had to look at ways to bring that type of instruction to students in rural Oklahoma. We certainly did not have enough certified, credentialed, or endorsed (whatever term you want to use) teachers for the many remote areas. We clearly needed a way of reaching these particular students.

Prior to this time, a collaboration had begun between the State Department of Education, the College of Arts and Sciences at Oklahoma State University (OSU), and the public schools of the state. Smith Holt, who is a very strong proponent

of raising standards in our state, was then dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at OSU.

At that time he and I and several others made a strong commitment to strengthen the curriculum in the rural schools in our state. At the same time that we were raising graduation requirements, the colleges and universities (through the state regents for higher education) made a commitment to raise, quite dramatically, the entrance requirements for colleges and universities in the state. Many of Oklahoma's rural and small schools had never offered some of the courses that were going to be required for entrance into college, specifically, foreign languages. In fact, in 1984, only 191 of 456 high school districts offered a foreign language.

We wondered how we were going to go about addressing this particular issue. This was a political issue, because as you people from rural states know, a politician does not get up and talk about school consolidation. That's not the way to either win elections or win friends in a rural state. School consolidation may very well need to take place in some states. It may need to take place in Oklahoma, but again, it was something that was not going to happen. Whether or not I or the governor might want it, the legislature was not going to let it happen. So we at the State Department of Education explored many methods of delivery.

We encouraged shared resources among districts such as circuit-riding teachers for math, science, and foreign language. We supported shared facilities. We began to think about the use of technology and distance learning as a means to deliver resources to the rural areas.

Defining distance learning is more complicated today with new delivery systems made possible by recent innovations in communications technology. I assure you that I am not an expert in technology, but we did realize that the communications universe was getting very complicated very fast. The computers that used to sit alone and think are learning to talk with other computers, hundreds, even thousands, of miles away. We also began to see that a satellite that was fixed in orbit approximately 22,000 miles above the equator can receive and beam instruction to school children back on earth, and, specifically, back to Silo, Oklahoma. These amazing technologies make distance learning and traditional learning far less distinguishable.

The *American Journal of Distance Education* says, "Perhaps the most distinguishing aspect of distance learning is that it is a means of providing access to education to those who might otherwise be excluded from an educational experience." In 1986, *Time for Results*, issued by the National Governors' Conference, quoted Dr. Geoffrey Fletcher of the Texas Education Agency:

> *When you go to the hardware store to buy a drill you do not actually want a drill. Instead you want a hole. They don't sell holes at the hardware store, but they do sell drills, which are the technology to create holes. We must not lose sight that technology—for the most part—is a tool and it should be used in applications which address educational concerns or problems. We should therefore focus on the appropriate application of technology, rather than on the tool itself. We must also remember that technology is constantly changing, and that whatever policies are implemented must be sufficiently flexible to reflect that change.*

And that report went on to encourage identification of unmet educational needs and exploring the potential of current technologies to meet those needs.

That is exactly what we did. During the spring semester of 1985, a high school in the panhandle of Oklahoma, Beaver High School, was granted approval by the Oklahoma State Board of Education to pilot a high school course in German taught by a professor at Oklahoma State University. It had been well over a decade since Beaver had been able to offer a foreign language in their high school. Fourteen students were enrolled in the pilot course. The uniqueness of the pilot was that the professor would deliver the instruction to the students in Beaver from his lectern over 220 miles away in a telecommunications studio in Stillwater.

Some people may ask, "Why German? Why that particular course?" We had an exceptional professor who could do a tremendous job of teaching German. That is why that particular course was chosen. I think you can see from the video what an excellent choice he was.

The $4 million telecommunications center at Oklahoma State University with standard production and receiving capabilities was equipped with C-band transmission via 10 meter uplink. In other words, OSU could transmit by

satellite to receiving locations across the state, the region, and even the nation. We had our technology.

Little was known on our part about distance learning. We knew that Alaska had done some things in that area. Australia had successfully employed both telecommunications and computer technologies to meet the needs of remotely located students. A few other states were beginning efforts in this area.

We still had major questions. For instance, would the State Board of Education support the hiring of certified secondary teachers to develop and teach courses in these critical shortage areas? Would the State Board allow professors at a college or university to teach these courses? Would there be other professors interested in working with secondary students using this particular technology? Would small, rural public schools be willing to participate and able to afford the programming? And finally, how would we address the accreditation and certification requirements for distance learning? A lot of questions remained unanswered at that time.

We experimented, we explored, we found answers to some of those questions. We expanded the program to include over 110 school districts in our state in telecommunications instruction via satellite in courses such as German, physics, calculus, and more. We're constantly expanding on that.

At this time I will call on my colleague, Sandy Garrett, who did a tremendous job with this program and will answer any questions that I have raised.

SANDY GARRETT: It is indeed a pleasure to be with you to share the Oklahoma Model of Distance Learning. We know there are many noteworthy and exciting programs utilizing technology in today's schools across the nation, helping children learn, sometimes providing access to learning that would not otherwise be available. In his report to the National School Boards Association, Dr. Lewis Perlman says that he envisions a technological transformation of teaching and learning in the next decade. During the past three days at this conference, we heard several of our speakers refer to the restructuring of schooling. Our model of distance learning may not actually represent a restructuring of schooling, but we think it does represent a type of technological transformation of both teaching and learning. It represents a change in the system, a change in the way we deliver instruction, accredit programs, and a change in the way we collaborate with universities by using their faculty as teachers for courses for high school credit.

Dr. Sizer on Monday challenged the chief state school officers to take more risks in changing the system. As we continue to share with you the account of this model's development, you will see that many bureaucratic barriers were torn down and that many risks were taken in order to implement this model. I personally would like to compliment our chief for being one of the main risk-takers in this project.

Dr. Folks has mentioned to you the need in Oklahoma for this alternate delivery system of instruction. He has also mentioned to you a little of the background of the collaborative effort that was so key to this project. I would like to continue from there and discuss with you the instructional design of the model, the state department of education's role, the funding, and some evaluation results that we have.

As the State Board pondered the questions that Dr. Folks mentioned to you, there was agreement that it would be preferable to have a teacher in the classroom with content expertise. Realizing that many of the rural and small schools either could not find or could not afford such a teacher, the Board concurred on the use of distance learning as an alternate method of delivery. Using the services of professors at OSU College of Arts and Sciences seemed to be the most feasible and cost-effective approach.

Instructional Design

Many of the College of Arts and Sciences faculty had gained expertise in working with the technology by conducting teleconferences from the OSU center. One of the faculty members, Dr. Harry Wohlert, had been developing software to use with the text for his freshman level German course on campus. He was also experimenting with computer interactive voice-recognition units, which actually correct the student's pronunciation. Dr. Wohlert willingly accepted the challenge of developing Oklahoma's first high school credit course via satellite.

From the pilot that the State Board approved for Beaver High School, the Oklahoma Model was established. In the fall of 1985, following the pilot, we enrolled 333 students from 47 school districts

in German I. Currently we have 1,026 students from 110 districts receiving high school credit for German I, German II, AP Physics, AP Calculus, and Trigonometry. They are taught by four distinguished professors at Oklahoma State University. This year the College of Arts and Sciences is offering the programming to eleven other states.

The Model incorporates a blend of teaching and technologies devised by Dr. Wohlert. The satellite classes meet daily for 55 minutes. Two or three days a week, depending on the course, students watch their teacher at OSU on a regular television monitor which receives the satellite signals by means of the school's down-link dish. Live audio interaction between teacher and students is possible via an audio link over regular telephone lines.

On the remaining weekdays, students study under the supervision of a regular classroom teacher/facilitator. During this time, there is individualized study using headphones, software, and a voice recognition unit, operating on either Apple IIe, Apple GS, or MS-DOS compatible hardware. In all courses, computer assisted instruction is an integral part of the curriculum.

The curriculum specialists in the State Department collaborate with the OSU faculty in developing all course curricula. In addition to the basic instructional design, the professors have included supplementary material, which is key in distance learning. For example, Dr. Wohlert has cultural offerings, German rock music, commercials, weather reports, and a pen-pal club. In every case, the use of sophisticated, high-resolution graphics and animation is the norm of daily broadcasts. Communication efforts are possible by use of toll-free telephone lines and electronic mail between students and professors.

State Department of Education's Role

The State Department of Education plays a very major role in this program. The Oklahoma State Board of Education adopted special guidelines and regulations (perhaps the first in the nation) for distance learning. The four areas of Board involvement include: course approval, inservice, evaluation, and accreditation.

Course approval: The State Board approves all courses for credit via satellite on a course-by-course basis. The curriculum must correlate with the Oklahoma Suggested Learner Outcomes. Exceptions are made for advanced placement courses. Supplementary materials, including specifically designed software and printed matter, are provided in the satellite curriculum. The local district files a satellite instruction plan with the State Department for each course they wish to have accredited.

Inservice: The teacher-facilitator in the satellite classroom receives assistance and inservice from the staff at OSU and the State Department. This training is crucial to the success of the program. The inservice focuses on the procedures of establishing and conducting distance learning, the course organization, and the technical aspects of the programming.

Evaluation: The State Department staff monitors the satellite programs on a yearly basis. Evaluations of student achievement, instruction, delivery, technical services, and program administration are conducted periodically. The school district is responsible for establishing specific, uniform procedures for evaluating student progress and administering a final grade. The professors and their staffs grade tests and assignments and return them to the local districts.

Accreditation: The classroom facilitator holds a secondary teaching certificate. Enrollment in satellite courses complies with class size regulations. Each participating school follows a live, televised schedule.

Funding and Costs

The funding and costs of this program seem to be the major concerns to the state and the local districts. The start-up cost for a class of five to seven students is approximately $10,000. These costs cover a C-Band/KU Band compatible down-link, a $1,500 subscription price for a two-semester course at OSU, two computers, a voice recognition unit, software, and textbooks. The College of Arts and Sciences handles financial arrangements between the district and the University. OSU has done a marvelous job in keeping that subscription price to a low level. We now have in place a network of 110 districts. Once the major hardware is in place, the only cost the districts have is that subscription price.

Many districts in the satellite network are funded by the small school cooperative grants from the Oklahoma State Legislature. These one-time grants of $10,000 per district have been available

yearly since 1985. The grants, awarded by the State Department on a competitive basis, are to be used in the distance learning project for math, science, or foreign language. Approximately 50 of our school districts have received satellite dishes from their county rural electric cooperatives. This is a part of a special school/business partnership effort with the National Rural Electric Cooperatives. And it's been quite a boon for those particular districts.

Evaluation

The continued evaluation of this project is of utmost importance to the Department. In 1986, the State Department, in accordance with regulations, collected survey information from principals in 30 high schools that were participating during the first year of "German by Satellite." These principals reported an enrollment of 236 students receiving credit for the course. The mean student enrollment per school was eight pupils. The evaluation measured the effectiveness of the delivery system.

The greatest strengths of this delivery system according to the principals are

1. The opportunity for students to study a course that would otherwise not be provided;

2. The curriculum's inclusion of cultural learning experiences as well as exposure to a foreign language;

3. The exposure of students in small/rural schools to the use of technology; and

4. The self-motivation and independent study habits it promoted for students.

The principals also pointed out weaknesses of the delivery system:

1. The broadcast time of the satellite class was not synchronized with the school's bell schedule.

2. The need for more live broadcasts in order to maintain student interest and motivation; provide students with more subject matter background; and increase interaction between students and the professor.

3. The "turn around" time between testing and reporting scores to students needs improvement.

All surveyed concluded that the classroom teacher/facilitator must receive inservice training. All commented favorably on the high level of instruction and quality of materials.

In 1987, a team from the State Department conducted on-site evaluations of the German and Physics satellite courses. Strengths, weaknesses and recommendations were reported by students, administrators, and classroom facilitators. Among the top recommendations from this group were that

1. The enrollment be limited to highly motivated students.

2. The class size be limited to ten or fewer.

3. A greater interaction between satellite teacher and student be encouraged.

We must and we will continue to evaluate and monitor all aspects of this distance learning model. We do know that students are learning, and that's our goal. A portion of our presentation today will be a video testimonial of the model and its successes. Before that, let me conclude by saying that the Oklahoma Model represents a successful collaboration between a state department of education, a university, and public schools. The Oklahoma Model of distance learning is working! The boundaries between distance learning and traditional learning are rapidly disappearing. The effectiveness is close to that of a traditional teacher/classroom situation.

Rural America—and its schools—face an incredible number of challenges. Unexpectedly, these are the schools that are becoming the innovators of applications in technology and networking because of their size, flexibility, and adaptive nature. We in Oklahoma recognize that this technology will never replace a quality teacher in the classroom. We do think that it will provide a quality, cost-effective learning opportunity for the rural youth of our state.

Teacher Induction Programs: Analysis, Critique, and Proposal

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Introduction: Why Bother with Induction?

The problems and dilemmas of beginning teachers are not new phenomena in our nation's classrooms and schools. For as long as many of us can remember, the issue of what new teachers do or do not bring to their first full-time teaching assignment has been a modest preoccupation of teacher educators, school system administrators, and individual school principals. Of course, the preoccupation is not so modest on the part of the new teachers themselves: they are often consumed by the desire to do well and suffer the anxiety brought on by the suspicion that they are not.

Traditionally, the quasi-formal introduction of a new teacher into a school culture has taken the forms of local system orientation days, pleasant social occasions like "welcome new teacher" luncheons, and the assignment of an experienced teacher as a sort of buddy who may or may not have any burning interest in being a resource for the beginning teacher. This often cavalier approach to bringing neophytes into teaching situations has resulted in the use of such phrases as "sink or swim," "trial by fire," and "learning on the job" to describe the important transition from being a student of teaching to being a teacher.

Recently, however, there has been considerable attention given to new teachers. This attention has been in the form of research, extended teacher education programs that include the first years of teaching, and, especially important for this meeting, policy initiatives from large numbers of state departments of education and state legislatures. Why this more vigorous activity related to new teachers? The answers to this question include a broad range of rationales.

First, there has developed in this nation a reform mentality, sparked in large measure by the publication of *A Nation at Risk*. That document, and the data that support its negative picture of the country's schools, have had far-reaching effects. The argument goes that schools are not as effective as we would wish, that school effectiveness is most directly the result of teaching effectiveness, and that teaching effectiveness must have a large part of its source in what beginning teachers bring to their important tasks. Therefore, if one wishes teachers to be more effective over time, it is necessary to ensure that when they begin their careers they demonstrate the potential for that effectiveness.

Second, there has been a long history in the United States of leaving the certification of teachers up to the individual states, but the realization of that history has demonstrated that the states traditionally give the responsibility for certification to approved programs of teacher education in colleges and universities. That is, a state department of education sets standards for teacher preparation programs and when a program meets the standards the graduates of the programs are almost always automatically certified. Although local school systems can determine whether or not a teacher is granted tenure, they have had little influence upon whether or not teachers are certified. The relatively recent attention to beginning teachers changes these conditions in two dramatic ways: beginning teachers must demonstrate in teaching situations after graduating from a teacher preparation program that they are competent, according to some criteria, and, often, school system officials testify about this competence as a part of the state certification process.

Third, there has been considerable discussion about how to make teaching more of a professional career than a job. Typically, teaching

has been a "flat" occupation, one in which a person is relatively trapped and where there is little opportunity for advancement. For the teacher who desires increasing responsibility and reward over time, there is little recourse but to leave teaching, most often to become a full-time school administrator. To counteract this, there are current proposals to consider teaching as a staged career, beginning with teacher candidacy for preservice students, and moving through such stages as novice teacher, career teacher, and career professional teacher or lead teacher. These stages are marked by teachers having more and more autonomy in individual classrooms and increasing responsibility for schoolwide, rather than only classroom, work while maintaining contact with students all or most of the conventional school day. This growth of responsibility from a group of students to the school as a whole is accompanied by greater salary and status.

Fourth, because the litany of problems faced by new teachers is one that has become familiar to all in the business of schooling, there has grown up a concern that these problems be dealt with directly and early in a teacher's work life. This "assistance" approach has taken two dominant forms. One is to create a support team that has as its responsibility responding to the problems of the beginning teacher, sometimes whether he or she wants it or not. Another is to anticipate the new teacher's difficulties and create conditions for beginning teachers that blunt some of the more predictable dilemmas such as multiple assignments, working in difficult schools with the most reluctant learners, or being expected to take on large numbers of extracurricular tasks.

These, then, are some of the reasons undergirding the teacher induction movement in the United States. There are others, of course, but these rationales are ones that seem to be the most dominant in the thinking of practitioners and policy makers. How, then, are the reasons and concerns translated into practice?

The Dominant Perspective: Ensuring Minimum Competence

During the first several years of state-mandated new teacher program initiatives, the major feature of the programs appeared to be making certain that new teachers demonstrate some minimum level of teaching competence. The programs most often used observation checklists of desirable teaching behaviors and could be seen to fit an inspection mode. In other words, state-level decisions were made about which teaching actions were valued, and ways of determining the presence or absence of those actions in beginning teachers' classrooms were developed.

The apparent rationale for this inspection perspective was a kind of quality control system. New teachers who could "pass" the classroom observations were certified and those who did not demonstrate the desired behaviors were not. (In reality, although the data are not reliable, there appear to have been few teachers who were judged poorly enough to be denied certification.)

These minimum competency programs often purport to be based on what "research says." If, for example, a research study noted that waiting for student response to a teacher question increased the accuracy of the student's answer and increased the student participation in classroom discussion, the teacher behavior of "wait time" was included in an observation scheme. Likewise, if research studies of classroom management demonstrated a positive relationship between posted classroom rules and student achievement, the public display of classroom rules was another feature of an observation procedure. These and other examples that could be noted were intended to show that policy about certification was linked to knowledge about effective teaching and that certification was based upon what has come to be called "generic competence." Generic competence has to do with those teaching behaviors that occur with great frequency across grade levels, student achievement status, and curriculum areas.

As one might imagine, the setting of minimum standards, although promulgated by persons of good will and high purpose, appears to have had some deleterious effects. Already noted is the fact that few teachers seem to have been relieved of their teaching responsibilities because of inspection-oriented procedures, suggesting to some that the observation systems are either not as discriminating as they might be or that the generic teaching issue is so "plain vanilla" as not to raise to visibility the problematic nature of teaching specific content to certain students in certain situations.

I believe that the minimum competence perspective has several more serious flaws. For one, such systems tend to influence beginning teachers to "settle" for the minimum standard. More than an occasional teacher begins to believe that the minimum is as far as it goes, that good teaching is defined at this level and that meeting it is a sign of excellence. There seems to flow from the establishment of entry standards an expectation that, as Peggy Lee once sang, "that's all there is." In a time when the society in general and policy makers in particular are calling for increasing standards of effectiveness, this is a most unfortunate consequence.

Another problem with these inspection programs is that they are most often rooted in views of teaching as craft, rather than as deeply intellectual activity. This is perfectly reasonable given the origin of the competencies that are most often included on the observation checklists. The research base was developed by examining what happened in classrooms where students achieved at greater than expected cognitive levels as measured by standardized tests of achievement. In other words, researchers examined carefully the classroom contexts, including teacher behavior, where students did well on tests and reported that there was a correlation.

What some observers of the process of translating research findings into policy expectations do not realize is that the researchers did no inventing or proposing; the teachers' craft knowledge was the source of the context variables. There is nothing wrong with this, of course, except that it results too often in policy prescriptions that blunt the intellectual aspects of teaching and reduce teaching to a kind of pedagogical painting by the numbers. The research, in all fairness, did not describe how teachers came to think about and decide to do certain things, it only named these things. When policy expectations remain at the naming level, instead of the thinking and deciding level, we diminish the importance of the intellect in coming to terms with the complexities of teaching.

Another unfortunate aspect of the minimum competence perspective is that satisfaction of the competency expectancy tends to be an end in itself, not leading anywhere in terms of a teacher's sense of being in a career. To "pass" the inspection is to satisfy an external agent, to "fail" is the signal that one is to be punished by the withholding of a teaching certificate. Under what circumstances would a beginning teacher see this rite of passage as a step on a ladder that leads to excellence or increased reward or higher status in the occupation? Because most school systems and states do not have staged career orientations to teaching, the meeting of a set of minimum competencies is, to many, simply winning a relatively low stakes game.

An Alternate Perspective: Teacher Induction and Expectations for Excellence

In contrast to the minimum competence orientation are the few programs that are characterized by assistance (versus assessment) and by a sense that meeting initial standards qualifies one for moving on to other stages as a teacher, the other stages being defined as having increasingly high performance expectations. In these programs for new teachers, the idea is that the first years of teaching should provide the groundwork for more effective teaching over the years.

To provide that groundwork, attention is given to the research base, as in the assessment programs, but the research information is used less as a standard with a go—no go decision rule, than as a mirror against which to measure initial teaching performance and from which one develops program components to help the new teacher grow and develop in the profession. The evaluation data are used for formative, rather than summative, purposes.

Further, the initial years of teaching are seen as a time when the new teacher is grounded in some expectations for later, not just immediate, teaching. This groundwork suggests to the new teacher that when this stage of teaching is mastered, there are other stages to meet and be challenged by. Sometimes, the next stages are defined relatively simply by expecting only "more" of the experienced teacher. More often, though, the next stages are characterized by the teacher's assumption of more and more responsibility for the well-being of the school, as noted earlier. There is, in other words, a conception of excellent teaching and, equally significant, a conception of how one becomes excellent at teaching. This perspective acknowledges the complexity of teaching, the multiple possibilities for being an outstanding teacher, and the critical need for numerous

intellectual resources in a school and/or a school system.

Programs that are thought through in terms of their relationship to other expectations for teachers, beyond initial certification, also tend to acknowledge more thoroughly the multiple knowledge sources for teaching. As noted earlier, the assessment programs tend to rely primarily on what descriptive and correlational research findings contribute to our understanding of teaching. This is but one source of knowledge. There is important knowledge about teaching that is theoretical in nature, and theories of instruction and of learning tend to be more complex and more difficult to grasp than straightforward prescriptions for practice. Also, there is useful and important teaching knowledge that derives from extant craft, from propositions that have intuitive appeal but have been untested, from values and beliefs, and so on. The point to be made here is that this more complex, career-oriented, staged view of working with beginning teachers is much more difficult, much less amenable to prescriptions and inspection, and much more sensitive to the ambiguity and unpredictability of teaching activity and thought.

The relatively few beginning teacher programs that come close to this conception seem to have as an inherent property the understanding that teachers need a repertoire of behaviors, but that they also need a decision-making structure that will help them decide which behaviors to use with which students in which circumstances. It is relatively mindless to expect that teachers of learning disabled eight-year-olds and teachers of advanced placement eleventh grade English literature should display the same teaching behavior. Yet, this is exactly what some teacher induction programs expect. Although considerably more difficult to accomplish, it seems more important to work with teachers toward the end of helping them to be thoughtful and perceptive decision makers, not automatons. The expert teacher is someone who makes the right decisions (versus following directions) and who can think and talk coherently about his or her work (rather than parroting what some other person or agency expects of them).

A last distinction between the assessment perspective and the teacher as expert perspective is that the latter considers teaching as more than meeting with students. Although the teacher-student interaction is at the heart of the educational enterprise, expert teachers think about and do a good deal more than just that interaction. Expert teachers engage in careful planning before meeting students, reflect critically upon the nature and effects of their work, participate in schoolwide and system level deliberations, engage one another in participatory problem identification and solution testing, develop and follow through on their own professional growth plans, read and in other ways do their own brand of homework, meet with parents and community members to strengthen the educational opportunities provided in classrooms, and so on. Assessment systems tend to give very short shrift to these non-classroom activities and events, ignoring purposefully or because of convenience the additive power they bring to the occasions when teachers and students work together.

What "Research Says" About Minimum Competency Teacher Induction Programs

In a multi-method, multi-site study of one new teacher program with a very well-defined assessment orientation, a number of findings are instructive when thinking about formulating new or adapting existing beginning teacher programs. Among these findings are the following.

As might be expected, the observation checklist process did result in the new teachers' focusing on the desired behaviors. As is true for other teacher-directed programs, whether assessment-driven or more open-ended, the teachers in question could and did learn how to display the "correct" behavior when observed. Further, in that the program was based upon teacher effectiveness research findings, the new teachers and the more experienced teachers and administrators who worked with them learned modestly about the research base, its primary conclusions, and the relationships between the desired teaching behavior and student cognitive gains. Given the relative paucity of such understanding in the teacher population generally, this was a very salutary outcome.

What was somewhat troubling about this understanding of the research base was the limited understanding that the new teachers and their more experienced counterparts had about the narrow definition of effectiveness included in

the research (i.e., the scores on a standardized achievement test) and the inherent limitations of correlational research (i.e., there is no guaranteed direct cause-effect relationship). The participants in the program seldom questioned the research base, and demonstrated a sort of blind faith in the phrase "research says." Even more troubling to my colleagues and me was that policy officials exhibited the same limited views.

Already mentioned briefly was that the research findings selected to guide practice were applied almost universally to teaching situations without reference to the circumstances where the research was conducted. For example, some of the research was conducted in urban, low socioeconomic level, fourth and fifth grade classrooms where mathematics was being taught. The relationships that were discovered by researchers in these settings were applied across-the-board to all new teachers in the state in question. Teachers of junior high school physical education, for example, were expected to demonstrate for certification purposes the behaviors that the original research had shown to have a relationship to elementary school mathematics. Even more dramatically, the teaching behaviors were even expected to be demonstrated by school counselors new to their work. Admittedly, some of the so-called generic teaching behaviors may have some inherent place in all or almost all teaching situations, but it is wrong to assume that all do or that those that are put in non-match situations should be legitimated by the phrase, "research says."

A major finding of the research into the implementation of an assessment-oriented teacher induction program was that new teachers began to talk of their work in almost paraprofessional ways. One manifestation of this was the "if that's what they expect, I'll show that I can do it" syndrome. Many of the teachers in our sample talked with us about how they could not see the fit of what was expected by the program and what they believed was necessary in their classrooms but, like true low level bureaucrats, they agreed to follow the system and accommodate its expectations. A more serious instance of this paraprofessional orientation was the growth of the new teachers' talk about teaching as something that could be easily learned, readily observed, and efficiently remediated. Over the course of the year of data collection, new teachers spoke increasingly often about teaching as "something else that someone else expects me to do." And the "something else" rarely included instances of what could be termed intellectual activity.

In terms of whether or not the teacher induction program actually accomplished its purpose, i.e., sorting out of the certification pool teachers who did not meet state expectations, a curious phenomenon was observed in the cases of several teachers. In each case, the teachers were deemed initially as unsatisfactory by their school colleagues and, I can add, by the research staff studying the program. As the year went forward, the view of the teachers by their colleagues became more favorable while the detailed observation notes of the research team suggested little change in the positive direction. What accompanied the more approving perceptions of the school practitioners was the overt talk about how good "we all are" and how helpful "we have been" with the new teacher. There seemed to be a takeover of the new teacher as a colleague, with all rights and privileges thereto, and a diminished understanding of how weak she or he was. The school ethos as an expression of collegiality and group success won out over more objective evidence of individual teacher weakness.

A technical problem, difficult to overcome, in the assessment-driven program was the unreliable observation data collected by persons assigned to work with the new teachers. Despite a carefully designed and well conceptualized preparation program, the experienced educators charged with collecting teaching data in the classrooms of new teachers simply did not learn how to do the job with any degree of accuracy or efficiency. Naturally, this was not always the case, but it is the research team's estimate that at least half of the data were not to be counted on. Some of this may have been due to the differential effort by observers put into learning the job, part may have been because some observers did not attend all training sessions, part may have been related to the observation instrument itself. Whatever the reason, the dependence upon often unreliable evidence of teacher behavior is a serious obstacle to taking the new teacher programs seriously.

A major conceptual difficulty encountered in the program my colleagues and I studied was that the new teachers' concerns, if not already part of the assessment system, were simply not dealt

with. The teams responsible for collecting, analyzing, and acting upon teacher observation data were influenced so directly by the content of the assessment instrumentation that they tended to be unresponsive to what the new teachers themselves believed were their problem areas. Frequently, new teachers would report to the research team that they were seriously worried about *x* or *y* or *z*, but their colleagues assigned to help them saw those phenomena as being outside their purview because they were not part of the assessment system. This limits sharply the conception of teaching that new teachers are developing and suggests a diminishment of professional collegiality to the level of technical assistance.

Concerns of New Teachers

It is interesting to put side by side the dimensions of some of the more popular state level new teacher assessment topics of importance with what new teachers tell us about their concerns. It is not possible to do that in this paper but it is important to point out that the differences between the two lists, items on an assessment instrument and a catalogue of expressions of concern by new teachers, illustrate clearly that the new teachers see teaching as extraordinarily complicated and entangled whereas the assessment schedules see teaching as a set of discrete, often simple, behavioral acts. The difference is illustrated, for example, by an assessment schedule item, "states objective of lesson," and a persistent new teacher dilemma of "translating curriculum content into classroom activities." Consider also the distinctions between "posts rules and procedures" on an assessment observation instrument and "seeing that my short-term planning fits into long-range plans." If we do not learn how to better deal with the complexities of teaching in our work with new teachers, we must suffer the consequences of reducing teaching to sets of simple independent events.

In the study noted above, there was some agreement among new teachers about their most pressing problems as they began full-time teaching. A partial list will illustrate that the beginning teachers have a good understanding of some of the persistent dilemmas of teaching. Their questions include the following.

- How do I integrate a variety of curriculum topics into meaningful relationships with one another?
- What is the relationship of the curriculum to the testing program for students?
- How do I use multiple texts for the same subject when my students are so different from one another?
- How can I have a personal life when teaching takes up so much time?
- What is the best way to learn how to treat all students fairly, even when I know I simply don't like some of them?
- How do I get the school year started? How do I end the year?
- What will be helpful as I work with students whose cultures and languages are so different from my own?
- With 25 students in my class, how do I make sure that all of them are learning what I'm trying to teach?
- How do other teachers in my school teach? What do they do that is successful? How can I learn from them?
- How am I supposed to behave with the principal? With other teachers? With parents?

These questions do not lend themselves to simple answers. In fact, answering questions like these takes years of thoughtful work, alone and with other professionals. They reflect the unalterable fact that teaching is the management of an uncertain, though purposeful, environment. And programs for new teachers that do not acknowledge seriously this uncertainty are destined to fall back on simple solutions. In the end, with certain dramatic examples of obvious new teacher failure, it is unlikely that categorical checklists, easily observable behavioral indicators of teaching, and prescriptions for practice will

either sort out teachers who should not be leaders in our children's classrooms or raise the sights of new teachers from minimum competence toward a vision of excellence.

Features of Effective Teacher Induction Programs: A Research-based Proposal

A series of three large-scale studies of teacher education, one of them the induction study discussed earlier, suggest features of an effective program for new teachers. The three studies, when the data and findings were re-analyzed, demonstrated that certain program dimensions appeared again and again in successful efforts to work with both prospective and practicing teachers. Although none of the features is particularly dramatic or striking on its own, what the re-analysis showed was that effective teacher education, including that which occurs in the first years of teaching, was characterized by all of the features being present in interaction. In other words, although it might be desirable to have one or two or several of the features in any program, the program's success will rest, in the end, upon the presence of all of them. I propose that efforts to work with new teachers be examined from this perspective, the presence of all of the features, and should any be absent, serious redesign take place. The features are described briefly here.

1. The program is *context sensitive.* This means that the program takes into consideration where the teaching is to take place, who the students are, what the curriculum is, what the social environment is like, and so on. Clearly, a standardized expectation for teaching that does not account for context differences is likely to be based on such a least common denominator conception as to be relatively meaningless. The context sensitivity issue is especially important during present times when the nature and character of our schools, particularly in terms of students, are changing so rapidly.

2. The program is *knowledge-based.* Although it seems that any teacher education program should have some basis in knowledge, the opposite often seems to be true. In the cases of so-called inservice programs for practicing teachers, it is frequently very difficult, even for the most experienced observer, to discern what knowledge was used in planning or is being used in executing the program. And, by knowledge, I do not mean only research-derived information, although that category would suit well some intentions. I also mean knowledge as described earlier, knowledge from craft, values and beliefs, theory, and propositions about practice. In the case of the beginning teacher programs described above, there clearly was a knowledge source, research findings, but there was not context sensitivity, an example of the need for the features presented here to be in interaction.

3. The program is *purposeful and articulated.* Education programs are, or should be, rooted in some sense of purpose. There should be a clear answer to the questions, "Why are we doing this?" and "What do we expect to happen after we do this?" Unfortunately, it is not uncommon for beginning teacher programs to either have no well-articulated purposes or for the purposes to be so vague or ambiguous that they provide little guidance to participants. If persons engaged in new teacher programs have little sense of why they are in them beyond some gate-keeping function such as "weeding out unfit teachers," it is unlikely that the programs will have any large-scale effects. This is especially true, for instance, if the programs are meant to influence numbers of participants in the same ways. Without well-designed and public purposes, it is likely that the program outcomes will depend more upon the interpretation of the individual participants than upon the intentions of the policymakers.

4. The program is *ongoing.* Too often, educational activity, whether in elementary and secondary schools or in programs for practicing educational professionals, is best characterized as a set of isolated events. Typical examples can be found in staff development programs that feature a seminar on cursive writing here, a colloquium on parent involvement in schools there, and a brief exposure to the latest educational fad somewhere else. For programs for beginning teachers to succeed, the evidence suggests that the elements of the program must be extended over time and linked together by some common strands of understanding and activity. If the intention is to raise new teachers' levels of sensitivity and practice related to expectations for student behavior, it would be wise to link together

a variety of ways of approaching the problem and stretching those links over a year or two, always reminding the participants that what happened before is related to today, and today is related to what happens during the coming months and years. (This, by the way, also has a strong research base in terms of working with students in elementary and secondary schools.)

5. The program is *developmental*. In this instance, developmental can be understood from two perspectives. On one hand, it means that there are expectations for cumulative accomplishment over time, using the ongoing nature of the program to build ever stronger understandings and skills in a sort of building block way. On the other, it means that the program accounts for the developmental differences among participants. Beginning teachers, after all, are not the same as mid-career teachers or veterans. If the developmental feature is taken into account, then, programs for new teachers would have some expectation for cumulative change over time and take into consideration the knowledge we have about the needs, ambitions, expectations, frustrations, dilemmas, and possibilities of being a new teacher.

6. The program focusses on *problem solving*. Problem solving is very different from accepting and using someone else's solution because that solution has been mandated or expected. Problem solving is serious cognitive activity that takes into account sharp understanding of the dilemma under study, the variables that contribute to it, the variety of sources of those variables, the potential that one or more possible solutions might have, and so on. We underestimate the attractiveness of problem solving as a way to go about thinking about teaching. Experience has shown that teachers, like other adults, want and expect to be treated as thinking people.

And thinking people ask hard questions, formulate reasonable options for activity, and examine carefully the sources of their frustrations. Thinking people are seldom attracted to the quick fix, the pat answer, or the prescription for behavior.

7. The program is *reflective*. New teachers are so caught up in the "dailiness" of their work that they come to believe that they don't have the time or life space to reflect upon their work and the consequences of their activity. New teacher programs can be designed so that this reflection becomes a norm, an expectation for practice. Rather than persisting in somehow ensuring that new teachers do what others have said they should do, it appears more powerful to allot a significant portion of time in beginning teacher programs for teachers to think out loud together, to identify what they believe are serious questions that need answers, and to consider their own teaching in light of these questions. How does a new teacher come to invent something that she or he didn't know before? The usual answer is that the teacher has given considered and systematic thought to what is needed in his or her teaching that isn't there. It's the filling of a void, the "having of a wonderful idea." If we do not promote the value of reflection in our work with beginning teachers, it is not likely that large numbers of them will move very far beyond teaching by the numbers.

As I noted before, these features are not exotic or dramatic. They are intuitively appealing, especially to those of us who have enjoyed the act of teaching and have found intrinsic rewards in being teachers. It is the combination of the features acting upon one another in beginning teacher programs that is unique and it is this combination that is an apparent predictor of success in new teacher programs.

Paving the Road to Hell: How Our Assumptions Increase the Risks for At-Risk Youth

Albert Shanker
President
American Federation of Teachers

I want to share some thoughts with you tonight about my concerns and worries. Generally, when I finish talking about them, somebody comes over and says something like, "Gee, that was negative. If I were really down, I could retire." But I don't feel that way. Even though I talk about many problems, I'm not trying to suggest that they can't be overcome, although I think it will be very tough, very difficult to overcome them.

I want to start where I always start. Forgive me if you've been through this once or twice before, but I think most of us in public education in America ignore most of what's happening. We do it because there is always a dual role for teachers, principals, superintendents, and other education professionals. It's the same dual role I face as a union leader. As a union leader, you have to go out there and tell the whole world and your own troops how lousy things are and how much more they need in order to make things better. That's one of the main functions of the union leader. Another main function is that one day, after you haven't gotten that much—just something—you have to turn around and say, "This does it. Buy it. Accept it."

If you think of that role of a union leader as first painting a picture about how horrible things are and then trying to convince the troops to settle—we're all in that business. We're all in the business of going to the legislature and saying how terrible things are and how much we need and then going out to the public and saying how great public education is.

Everybody at every level is in that situation of saying opposite things almost at the same time. So, please forgive me if I dwell on certain negative parts of this issue right now. I'm really with you and all the other people in education who have to balance these two things: trying to do better and therefore dwelling on the negatives, while also trying to maintain support and prevent people from abandoning us. We're out there selling. I'm with you and all the others who are not here tonight who do this kind of juggling.

I want to start by saying what more and more people are saying. If you read the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) and a lot of other reports, they indicate that our schools do a fairly decent job with about the top 20 percent of the students. They do not reach 80 or 85 percent of them. There was no golden age in the past where we reached 90 percent of them. In 1940, about 20 percent of the kids graduated high school and 80 percent dropped out. Nineteen fifty-three was the first year in which the majority of kids graduated from high school. The fact is that kids are now staying in school longer—they are learning more. So it is not that we were once in some golden age and have fallen from it. It's just that once our society didn't expect or need that much. There were no headlines in 1940 saying the dropout rate is huge because the 20 percent who graduated were the largest percentage of kids who had ever graduated from high school in any one year in the country. If there had been an article, people would have been very proud about it.

So it is not a question of comparing now with then. It is not a question of blaming. The fact is that neither the United States nor France nor England nor Germany nor any modern industrial country—and Japan is an exception in some respects, but not in others—has schools that reach the overwhelming majority of students.

Who Is At Risk?

I have a little bit of a bone to pick with the whole question of at-risk students. The phrase

"at-risk" implies to the general public that we're doing very well for practically all of our students, but there are some kids who are at risk and they're mostly black and Hispanic and poor whites. It suggests that only a small number of kids are at risk and that it is only because of their disadvantaged background.

It is true that in a very real sense there are kids who are at very special risk. Read William Julius Wilson's book, *The Truly Disadvantaged*, about how most kids move up, get jobs, and get going because some neighbor or an uncle, friend, or somebody motivates and helps them. Opportunity is not all due to getting good school marks or graduating from school. If you drop out of school in a working-class area where everybody or almost everybody is working, somebody there is going to say, "Hey, there's a job in this place. Why don't you go and apply. You'll start low, but you'll move up." We all hear stories about that. But if you're living in an area like our big cities where nobody around you is working and nobody is making money, or everybody is into crime, drugs, or prostitution, there is nobody to say to you, "Hey, there's something decent I can connect you to." There are no connections. These are kids who are really at risk.

But what I want to say is that most of our kids—middle-class kids—will get a job and make it because they've got some connections. They're going to learn and they're going to make it through a form of apprenticeships. They're going to make it through connections. And when they get a job, they're going to turn to the person next to them and ask: "How do you do this?" And someone will tell them. They'll end up making it; that's how most people make it. Most people do not come in with their degrees and sit down and apply the formal knowledge that they acquired.

We're all laughing because we know something about school knowledge, right? We know that it has very little to do with the outside world. We ought to think about that, whether it needs to be that way and whether it's good. But, that is the way.

Let me start with some very disturbing NAEP results. If you've got some new data that ought to make me feel more optimistic about this, please give it to me—I need the shot. But, the NAEP news is disturbing. One of the parts of the NAEP for 17-year-olds is to write a letter to a supermarket manager down the block. There are 20 other people applying for one opening; you're supposed to convince him that you should have the job. Spelling doesn't count, grammar doesn't count, as long as he can read the letter. The kid is supposed to give one or two reasons. For instance, "I used to work at my father's laundromat, so I know how important it is to get to work on time because you're counting on me. And, I know it's important not to make mistakes in giving change. I'm very careful about that and I do a good job." Things like that.

The percentage of graduates who can write a letter with grammatical and spelling errors, but with one or two reasons, is 20 percent. Twelve percent of the graduates can arrange six very common fractions like one-half, two-thirds, and three-fifths from smallest to largest. Now, the dropouts have dropped. These are the successful kids being addressed.

There's also a question involving a railroad schedule or bus timetable. You have to figure out what bus or train to catch if you want to get to a certain place on a certain day at a certain time. It's not really about whether you can read a timetable, but whether you can open up a world almanac and understand some numbers and charts. Can you understand graphs in *Newsweek* or *Time* magazine? Can you read a spread sheet? Can you take a combination of numbers and words and figure something out? The percentage of graduating seniors who were able to do that is 4.9 percent. If you take all blacks and Hispanics out of this sample, it's 5.9 percent for whites. Go though the NAEP materials for 17-year-olds. They are very interesting. They are very devastating.

So what does this mean? One theory is that God only made 4.9 percent of us smart enough to read a bus schedule. I don't buy that. I think it means that we have continued to maintain a traditional way of schooling that has been handed down to us for 100 or 200 years, and that it does not work for the majority of students. We have not engaged in a rethinking process in education in the same way that American businesses are compelled to rethink things because they are facing tough competition. In a sense, we are also facing new competition.

It didn't make any difference how well our schools did in 1950. There were the auto plants, the steel mills, and the mines. Any kid who dropped out could walk across the street and get

a better-paying job than a teacher. But that is not true any more. So, we now have to rethink things. Take another analogy: the cars American manufacturers are producing now are no worse than those they turned out in the 1950s. They're in fact better. It's just that the Japanese have put out cars that are even better than anything we're putting out. It's not that we're worse than we used to be. We're better than we were, but we're not better than something else which didn't exist before.

The same is true with education. It's not that we're worse than before, we're just not up to what the needs and challenges are today. There was no need to rethink things before. It didn't make much difference if only 20 or 30 or 40 percent graduated or knew something. Today it does mean something, and it makes a difference.

I want to share with you a story I read the other day in the *Wall Street Journal* dealing with Poland and its economy. I was in Poland. I marched in the first illegal demonstration three weeks ago. I had nothing to do with these strikes. I went there to hold hands with them and to express our support for them. When I came back I read a piece which was both humorous and extremely sad. I felt when I read it that I could say the same thing about school reform in the United States. The writer was a Polish economist who said that Poland was in a terrible state economically and has become a Third World country. He said that there were two basic ways of improving the Polish economy. There is a natural way and there is a miraculous way. The natural way, said this economist, is for a host of angels to descend and lift Poland into prosperity. The miraculous way would be for the Poles to do it themselves. Now I suggest to you that may be true of school reform.

As I see it, there are two aspects to school restructuring. The first is the obligation of any people who are involved in any endeavor that involves other people and is really the first hallmark of any profession. That hallmark is not an obligation to be successful or to win because you cannot guarantee in a complicated field that you're going to be able to succeed. The first hallmark of any complex occupation is not to hurt anyone—not to do any damage. But we do damage.

The Learning Process

I just pulled something out of a book that was published in 1980. It's a handbook on a systematic approach to designing and conducting educational programs for adults. There is an article within the book with a chart, "Hierarchy of Retention." It says if you take a bunch of adults and use the following methods, you get the following results in terms of whether the people who go through them remember what it is that they're supposed to remember as a result of the educational process.

The first category is reading—reading articles and books. Ten percent of the people are able to retain what they are supposed to have gotten from reading an article or book. Next is hearing—listening to a lecture. Twenty percent of the people retain what they hear in a lecture. Next is seeing—watching pictures. Thirty percent of the people are able to retain what was presented by the pictures. The next is hearing and seeing at the same time—a movie, an exhibit, or demonstration. Fifty percent are able to remember what they saw in a movie or demonstration or exhibit.

Next is saying or writing—writing an essay or being in a group discussion where you constantly have to listen, give and take, and be alive all the time because it's going to go back and forth. There is 70 percent retention as a result of that process. Finally, doing—either a simulated exercise, role playing, or actually doing something or on-the-job training: 90 percent retention.

But, what do we do in schools? The first two methods: reading and hearing, with the least successful results, 10 and 20 percent retention. We do very little of the others. Is this a mystery? Was anybody surprised by this list? Does it conform to the way that you and I remember school and how these methods become part of us? Sure it does. There was nothing surprising there at all.

We say that everybody learns at his or her own rate. We all do. But, how are schools organized? Well, we all learn at our own rates, but you had better learn at the same rate that the teacher is speaking because she doesn't have a chance to talk to you all individually. That's the way school is organized. Does it have to be? We know that one-third of the kids are going to be bored because they know the material. One-third

of them are not going to understand what we're saying. Is there a different way of doing things?

Learning from Management

I've been reading a lot of books on management. Every one of them will have a chapter on how you should never humiliate or insult your employees. Because if you do, you turn them off and they'll hate you and instead of working for you, they'll try to sabotage your operation. What do we do in school when we call on kids to answer questions? Not the kid who knows all the answers—he loves it. What about the 25 percent of the kids or 10 or 15 percent who are sitting there engaged in an unconstitutional act? They're praying that we'll not call on them. And when we do call on them, they never have the answers right.

What happens when you call on a kid in the morning and ask him something he doesn't know? And it happens again in the afternoon, and tomorrow afternoon? And every time we call on him and he doesn't know, what are we doing? We're humiliating that kid in front of all his peers. What does humiliation do to people? If you think humiliation is a good way to get people to learn something, I suggest that you think about why people don't want to take driving lessons from their husbands or wives. It's not that their husbands or wives are worse teachers than the ones in driving school; it's just that most people don't like to see people who know about them watching them as they make mistakes. We're all like that. When we get involved in situations where others who are close to us see us doing those things, we eventually say, "I'm not playing this game. Don't evaluate me on that; I'm not interested." And that's what kids do. We all know kids in the third or fourth grades who really dropped out in their own heads before they dropped out of school.

I became very interested some months ago in a book written by a British management expert named Charles Handy. He's done a few chapters in each book on schools. He did this very interesting little piece in which he said that school work is most like office work. He said if you were to think of all the things in the outside world, like being in an auto plant, a steel plant, the coal mines, being on a ship—of all the things you can think of, being in school is most like office work. You read reports, you listen to people, you create reports, you're moving paper, you're using words and numbers—something like that.

Then he asked the question, suppose you were running an office—either an insurance office or bank or newspaper or state education department even—and suppose you hired people and you said, "Jack, here's your desk. Sit down over here. There's your supervisor who will tell you what to do. There are thirty other people sitting at desks who are doing the same work, but I don't want you to talk to them. And, after 45 minutes a bell is going to ring and we want you to move to the third floor, to a different office where you will have a different supervisor and be given different work to do and you'll have thirty other people sitting there, and we don't want you to talk to them either. And, that will happen every 45 minutes. You will move and will have to relate to a different boss and a different kind of work." Well, if you organized your department of education that way, you'd be out of a job in a couple of minutes.

It's very difficult to get adjusted to one supervisor, let alone one every 45 minutes. Even with one supervisor, we have unions. Each supervisor has a different style, a different set of expectations. The way most people get to learn their jobs is to turn to the people next to them and say, "Hey, how do you do this?" But you're not letting them talk to the people next to them. Handy says this is a crazy way to run any institution, including a school, because you're confusing students.

Now, the student is a worker. It's the student who is educating himself or herself. If education could be poured into the kids from the outside, all the kids I've ever taught would have learned everything I tried to teach them, because I was giving them all the same thing. The fact is that all education is self education. Therefore, the job of the teacher is not just to pour something in—it's like being a manager in a factory or some white-collar business, or like being the head of the department of education where you're trying to figure out how to get all the people working there on board and working together toward the objectives which you've all agreed to. That's not an easy thing to do.

This system of moving kids every 45 minutes would work very well if these kids were automobiles on an assembly line. If the teachers were putting a different part on each 45 minutes,

that would make sense. That's exactly why the model is like that—because we view the kids as being inanimate.

Let's engage in the same kind of thinking that the auto workers and General Motors are engaged in trying to build the Saturn—a car to compete with Japanese cars. Let us for a moment make believe. That is, face the reality that the American public will not forever be patient with us. They may be patient if we're trying to do new things and don't make it. They will not be patient with us if we keep doing something that doesn't work. We can face the American public and say, "You people are parents and you know how hard it is to deal with your kids. We're dealing with the same kids. We're trying to do different things, and we'll be honest when something doesn't work and will say so and that we're not going to try it again, but we are engaged in an honest search." The American people will accept that. They will not accept "everything is fine and we're doing the best we can" while everything stays the same as it was 50 and 100 years ago. That's where I'm coming from. Not that we have answers, but that the American people will not tolerate our continuing to sell them something that doesn't work. They will tolerate a search and an honest stance that we don't have all the answers.

What are some of the things that ought to be looked at? I want to share a few things with you before closing. First is an experience I had some months ago. I saw a school which has been in operation for 17 years. They have a structure in which people think about what happens to kids. I am not here to say that this is what every school in America (or even half or one-third of them) ought to be like. I'm saying that here is a school that is substantially different from 99.9 percent of the schools in the United States, has done a terrific job, and gotten very different results. Therefore we should think about it.

A West German Example

This is a school in Cologne, West Germany. It's unlike most German schools. In the fourth grade in Germany you take an examination. If you're great you're told you're smart and you're going to the university. If you don't pass, you're told that you didn't make the gymnasium, but you're on the next track and you're going to the *realschule*. After the *realschule* you will attend a technical institute and you will get a job. If you're the lowest on the exam, you're told you will go to the *hauptschule* and you'll get a kind of cooperative education program and you will be in the lowest status.

There are a number of schools in Germany that have tried to do something different. The one I saw tries and does do something different. It's comprehensive, which means it doesn't track the student this way. The students are kids from the lower two tracks who have been told that they didn't do well on the fourth-grade exam. They are told that this failure determines the rest of their lives, and that they are too dumb to go to college.

Here's another major way this school is different from others. First, suppose I am a new teacher arriving in September. I am not told, go to Room 305, your class is there. I'm told the kids are going to come in three days. Here are six other teachers who are your teammates. You sit down with those teachers. Here are the 120 or 130 kids you're going to have. It is your job, after looking at their records and thinking about them, to decide on how to divide them into classes. Notice it's the actual teachers who are going to teach them who will sit down and think about how to divide the kids. Not a computer, not an administrator, not a committee of teachers from the previous year—it's the teachers who are going to teach them who make that decision. That's empowerment—not taking some abstract power away from some school board. The power to make decisions about what will affect your job and your teaching—that is the empowerment.

Second, I am asked how will I work my time schedule during the day. There are no bells in this school. If you don't want to move the kids around every 45 minutes, you can have them a whole morning for German, a whole afternoon for mathematics, and then the next morning for science. If you think that's too much time, you can shorten the time, you can lengthen it, based on how bored the kids are or how interested, whether they are slower in one subject and faster in another. The school is not going to dictate this. Not you as an individual, but your team of teachers can sit down and say that our kids are behind in a subject and we need to lengthen the time.

So, the allocation of students, the allocation of time, and now, which teachers are responsible for each subject—that's your decision too. In other

words, all the important decisions are made by that team.

The second thing they're told is that they're never going to get a substitute teacher to come in, so they must organize themselves so that if anyone is absent, it's not a crisis. The reason for this is that the kids don't know the substitute and the substitute doesn't know the kids. So the kids are taught bad lessons when a substitute comes in. They are taught that they can run rings around an adult. They're taught that they can throw things and curse. They can do all sorts of destructive things. The school has already taken all of the money that would be used for substitute teachers and given you an extra teacher for your team. Now you organize yourselves in such a way that no matter who's absent, no outsiders need to come in because they're not going to do you any good.

The third thing you're told is that these kids are entering the fifth grade and will be graduating at age 19. Your team is going to be with the same kid from fifth grade through age 19. You're not going to be able to say that you got these kids from a lousy teacher who ruined them, and you're not going to be able to say that you can't wait until June to get rid of them and pass them on to somebody else. They are yours for half of your professional life. And when you look at yourself in the mirror, you will know that you're the person responsible for them. Anything you goof up early on you know you're going to have to live with, so you'd better ungoof it quickly.

As a secondary school teacher in America with five classes a day, you don't learn the names of your kids until almost Thanksgiving. Then you start packing up three weeks before the school year ends, after exams, because the records, the books have to be collected. But in Holweide, these are the same kids you're going to have next year and the year after that. You don't have to learn any new names or do any packing up. You'll actually gain about seven weeks of instructional time every year without adding a single day to the time of teachers or kids in the school.

The next thing that happens is that there is almost no lecturing in the classrooms. The kids sit at tables of five and the whole idea is to get kids to learn with their friends. No one is asked questions and humiliated. Like a ball team, they all help each other. If one is weaker than the other, the stronger helps the weaker. It is not all factual knowledge to be spewed back on examinations. It is much broader.

To use an example from Ted Sizer, the first thing that each table gets is a creative challenge. For example, here is a map. See? Here's Cologne. When it's nine o'clock here, what time is it in London, and New York, and Chicago. Now, you all understand that—you can see the clocks on this map. Now, I want you to think about what I ask you (and I don't want you to look it up in a book). I want you to think about it and for each table to come up with an idea. Were there time zones when Jesus lived? When George Washington lived? When Abraham Lincoln lived? When do you think time zones came into effect and why weren't they in effect before that? And who wanted them? And who might have been against them at the time? And what would happen tomorrow if we didn't have 24 different time zones, but 12? And what would happen if we had two and what would happen if we abolished them tomorrow? Who would be for it and who would be against it? Don't look it up in a book. We're not interested in what actually happened. We want you to come up with some ideas, some hypotheses, some theories. In other words, it's not just facts and memorization. It's creativity and speculation. It's the kind of thing that stimulates a good chief executive officer in a business to think of a new product or a market or the effects on different groups. This is a broader notion of intelligence than what we cater to in our public schools.

You might think these are all blonde German children who salute the teachers when they walk in. A lot of these kids are Moroccans and Turks and Greeks and Portuguese. There are lots of poorer Germans in the school. This is an urban school. You'd recognize it to be one of your tougher schools. This school produces the same percentage of kids who pass the *arbeitur*—the examination to the universities—as the select schools do. It is a school of choice. No teacher has to work there and no parent has to send a kid there. But they're all lined up to come in because it's terrific.

Now, is this the only model? It is not. But it's a way of thinking about how you can make a few little changes in a place and get big effects. Do you have to keep all the kids together from fifth grade to age 19? No, you might have three-year blocks.

Do you sacrifice something? Is there some teacher who might say, "I'm really not good at teaching math from the fifth grade all the way to the age 19?" Sure. Are there trade-offs? There certainly are.

But the whole point is, not that this is what ought to happen but that this is something to think about. We should try to think about what kids need, what turns them off, and what turns them on. Can you use kids to help each other? Is there a way of not embarrassing them? Is there a way of stimulating thinking and creativity rather than just memory? Is there a way to get teachers to accept responsibility?

By the way, we talk about accountability for teachers. We've got all sorts of things like merit pay, mentors, and inspection processes. Can you think of a better accountability process than for me to know that I'm working with these other six teachers from grade five to age 19? Guess what I'm going to do if somebody's not working? Guess what the rest of us are going to do if somebody on that team botches up something.? Can you think of any principal or superintendent who will do more than a bunch of people who realize that they've got to live with each other for a hell of a long time? If someone isn't working then everybody else has to do the work? Or that if someone does something rotten or destructive that the others are going to have to live with the consequences? It's powerful. It's something we need to think about.

Strategies for Reform

I would like to conclude by talking about a proposal I made a couple of weeks ago at the National Press Club. I recognize that it's very difficult to bring about change. I know how difficult that is. I say the same things in our publications.

There have been waves of reform in this country before and we still we have pretty much the same schools. People are comfortable with what they have, or at least they are afraid of the unknown. I am afraid that if we stick with what we have we're going to be big losers, and there will be a huge public reaction: "We gave you money, we gave you attention, we gave you reform and look what we got. When it was over we got the same thing." We can ride it out, but we're not going to be home free. We're going to ride it out, and there will be a lot of resentment and proposals for a lot of radical notions that move away from public education. That is what I'm very worried about.

I think it's almost impossible to turn a whole school system around. The only way most people know how to do that is to order a lot of people to do things, and when you do that, they don't like it and they organize. We can't do it in our organization. I don't think you can do it in your states and I don't think any superintendent can do it. I don't even know if a principal can do it in a school. It's unusual to be able to bring that sort of change about.

But suppose we were to try teams of six or ten or twelve or fifteen teachers in one school and two schools and five schools, etc. Suppose that we, as educators and chiefs, said, "Look, we're not abandoning the system we have right now because we don't really have a better one that we know about. Therefore, we're not going to say, 'everybody abandon this for something else' because we don't know that something else we try will be better. However, we know what we have now is not satisfactory. Everybody's somewhat unhappy with it. Therefore, we want to give an opportunity to people to try out new things. We want to set certain standards. We want to say that there will be cooperative learning in this system, recognition that people learn at their own rate, and a whole bunch of things. We would set certain standards, but we would allow teams of teachers, with the agreement of their principal, school boards, and local unions, to essentially set up schools within schools."

Notice that each of these grades in the Cologne school is a school within a school. They never really see anyone else. Those teachers stay with those kids. They do have a governance structure. Each team has somebody on a faculty senate and each team has somebody on a curriculum committee.

Now, I've been around long enough to know that even if you set up a school within a school, the other people within it are going to resent it. They're going to say, "If you're setting up something different, you must think we're doing something wrong. This is an implicit criticism of what we're doing." I don't know how to get around that. But I hope that you will think of ways to set up a structure that will, on a voluntary basis, allow parents, teachers, supervisors, and school systems to do things on a smaller basis. What I hope is that,

if something is going right within a school, you could win over some other people within that school. I know that if the school is down the road it will never be won over. If somebody tells me they've got a great school down the road, I'll say their parents are different, their kids are different, their teacher is different, and it will never work here. I know that one. I led it for many years and our whole industry is based on it.

But if it's right here in my school and you have a representative group of teachers—you can't have all the best teachers in the school—and a representative group of kids and it works, maybe we can win people over. I don't know if that's a be-all or end-all. I'm sure it isn't. But I am concerned that we bring about change. I hope that you will help this to happen and, more, that you will come up with some other ideas as to how to make some changes happen. We're not in a period of time where we can afford to just do what we've done before. The consequences will be very different.

My final word is this: I believe that you can't bring change about unless people think the angel of death is at the door. The auto industry didn't change until they were practically down and out. And they may be out—that is, the changes they're making may be too late. They're saying, "That's the way we're built. It's unfortunate, but that's the way we're built." We all hang on to all sorts of hopes that nothing bad will happen unless we're almost dead. So, I want to try to convince you that we're almost dead—as the parting pleasantry of the evening.

Just look at England for a moment. England is a very nice place and not a very radical society. I was over there a few years ago, and they'd been through about five months of the national firefighters' strike and nobody was concerned about it. I asked, "Aren't people dying every day?" And they said, "Well, they die even when the firefighters aren't on strike." It was that sort of thing—very British. They were not about to throw the firefighters' leaders in jail. They even allowed them to lock up their equipment so that no one could mess it up. So, the British are not about to go for radical solutions.

However, in the last year, they did go for radical solutions in education. If you haven't read about it, you should get into it very deeply because it's an indication that rather conservative societies that have had institutions lasting for 100 or 200 years can make very radical moves when they get to be unhappy.

Margaret Thatcher got an education reform law through which said the following: if 20 percent of the parents of children in any school sign a petition that they are unhappy with the way the school is being run, the Department of Education and Science, which is their federal Department of Education, conducts a secret ballot election by sending ballots home to the parents to ask whether or not they want that school removed from the jurisdiction of the local Board of Education. If a majority of those returning ballots vote that they want the school removed, the whole public school gets removed from the jurisdiction of the Board of Education, and the parents elect their own Board of Education for that one school. The public Board of Education has to send money to this group—the same money they would have spent if it were a public school. Those parents have a right to hire and fire anybody they want to run the school. But to make sure that those parents run it properly, the national government is now adopting a national curriculum—what all kids must learn—and a national examination system so that each year the parents can find out whether the school is doing the job or not. Well, that's their version of tax credits and vouchers. It can happen here.

I want to thank you for this opportunity. I know that you've been through a long day. I am very concerned with starting the process of change and reform, and I hope you are. It is very difficult. We have to realize and respect that the system that has remained the same for 100 or 200 years has served the needs of a lot of people, almost everybody in it. Yet we are the leaders, and we have to figure out a way of bringing about some productive change. I hope that together we can do some of that in the next few years.

Teaching and Professionalism: A Cautionary Perspective

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Professionalism is an animating theme in the current educational reform movement, so some reflections on its history, meaning, and consequences are in order. The term "professional" has become an honorific in our society today, covering a multitude of uses (e.g., the oldest "profession" in the world; the "professional" housecleaner, etc.).[1] Implicit or explicit in this term are comparisons to the elite professions whose stature and status many other lines of work covet and aspire to. As the reform of teaching proceeds under this banner, it is worth taking a look at some aspects of professionalism, then appraising teaching in their light.

We enter an era when teaching renews its efforts to professionalize. "Renew" is the proper term because in the post-War era, the dominant trend was the turn to unionization as the collective advancement strategy for teaching. This was, arguably, a necessary and effective move by a weak and often abused occupation, but unionism is in a consolidation phase and appears to have run its course in securing gains for teaching.

Salary increases attributable to bargaining have leveled, teacher rights to due process have been established, and teacher strikes today as often provoke public disapproval as support. Furthermore, the collective bargaining framework for labor-management relations tends to preclude innovation by either side, and to support the status quo in the schools. Bargaining strategies for the most part focus on preserving what has been gained and on minimizing risk. Leaders in both teacher organizations are just beginning to explore new avenues for advancement, and the rallying point is professionalism.

Why this should be so is no mystery:

> *Professionalism weaves into a strong braid of ideology our political culture's most potent values. The scientific and technological base of professional practice provides ground for the mystery and efficacy of expertise. Status and wealth accrue to professionals yet the service ideal provides an altruistic motive for their work. Access to the professions is achieved through a public educational system; all may apply, many may be chosen, merit and effort make the difference. Professionals work in organizations and in solo practice, but enjoy considerable autonomy. Expertise is shared within a community, but practice has a strong individual component. Indeed, individualism is an enduring theme in American culture. Self-reliance, the Emersonian virtue, and its cultivation in good judgment are hallmarks of professional work.*
>
> *That teachers and many other human service workers seek the professional mantle is no surprise. How irresistible is an occupation swathed in science, altruism, democracy, and individualism that pays well to boot. So powerful is the lure of professionalism and so limited the alternatives that occupations in pursuit of status, income, autonomy, and competence will naturally seek to professionalize.*[2]

But to what ends and with what results? There are two accounts that bracket the promises and the dangers.

Professionalism as Progress

Professionalism represents an effort to establish practice in the human services on a sound footing; to capitalize on and incorporate into practice a base of codified knowledge that progressively improves the work of the professional; and to represent in partnership with the modern state a regulatory framework of shared standards that protect public safety and

welfare while advancing society's collective interest in material and spiritual well-being.

As the market in a free enterprise system came to organize the production and distribution of goods, so the rise of professions came to rationalize the production and distribution of human services in a manner unparalleled in human history. With the rise of science and technology as the driving force in Western civilization, "profession" came to be synonymous with progress. Arguably, the near simultaneous inventions of democracy and its keystone, a free, public educational system; of capitalism and the market as efficient organizer of the economy; and of the professions with their appropriation of central cultural values, constitute essential elements in this grand, continuing experiment the world knows as—America.

Professionalism as Pursuit of Privilege

Such hyperbole rings grandly, but consider the alternative account of the meaning of professionalism. The political-cultural dynamic known as professionalism was the successful effort of certain interests to insinuate themselves into the occupational and status structure in order to secure comparative advantage in the struggle for cultural valuables.[3] The elite occupations constructed and pressed an ideology allowing them to mask what was a blatantly racist, sexist, classist, and nativist drive to cleanse their field of "undesirables" in order to elevate status and income. Behind the skillfully constructed myths of altruism, public welfare, scientific efficacy, and meritocratic access lies the seedy truth: a special interest power grab unparalleled in audacity and effectiveness. Professionalism has degraded caring and compassion in human services, has reinforced gross inequities, and has unnaturally aggrandized a small minority of favored individuals who sought above all to establish and perpetuate a new basis for the social transmission of privilege.

These portraits—caricatures, really—etch the lines of analysis too dramatically, but various kinds of historical evidence support each interpretation. Indeed, it would be surprising if any important trend in worldly affairs did not produce a mix of benefits and costs for the human condition. One has only to contemplate the atrocities perpetrated throughout history in the name of noble ideals. We now seek to professionalize teaching. A closer look at this matter may be instructive. Four topics take up the analysis:

- The development of standards in the professions;
- The relation of quality to quantity in the supply of professionals;
- The relation of excellence to equity in the production of professionals and the distribution of services; and,
- The role of the professional school in the rise of professions.

A Closer Look at Professionalism

Standards evolved slowly and unevenly across the professions, with the rise of science and of the modern university deeply influencing the evolution from apprentice arrangements modeled on the guild organization of crafts to formal education within a professional school. Reading the law was gradually replaced by attendance at law school; working in an apothecary's shop replaced with degree programs in pharmacy; attending a variety of quack proprietary medical schools replaced with university-based scientific training.

The rise of the university was critical, for without it there was no alternative to apprentice-based training.[4] The university professional school became the funnel through which poured an eager new class of professionals and, with the rise of graduate business schools in the 1940s and 1950s, of managers.

The evolution proceeded in stages. First came the effort to establish a model professional school—Johns Hopkins in medicine and nursing; Harvard in the law. Then came efforts to require more years of schooling both for entry to the professional school, and to the profession itself. Finally came efforts to close down inferior schools and so restrict the supply of professionals while raising standards. Medicine served as both prototype and exception.[5] The phenomenal success of the Flexner report (which speeded up moves already underway by state licensing boards) became the envy of other professions. Lawyers in particular attempted to emulate the doctors, right down to their own Carnegie-funded

Flexner-style inquiry, but it took them decades longer to accomplish what the doctors managed in a single decade.[6]

What was the desired end state, the *summum bonum* of the movement? A four-part standard most securely enshrined in medicine:

- A set of pre-professional courses taken within the undergraduate curriculum, together with a difficult entry examination to medical school;
- Graduation from an accredited medical school;
- Completion of a rigorous professional examination; and
- Completion of an accredited residency.

This became the most fully elaborated model in all the professions, guaranteeing a very select clientele for the profession. The academic rigor, the years of schooling, the high costs and deferred rewards, all contributed to elite selection.

Other professions aspired to such standards, but none gained the necessary legitimacy. Other fields involve a variety of departures from this austere ideal. The law has never worked out satisfactory procedures for clinical training. Law school students may clerk in courts or work in law offices during the summers, but no profession-wide arrangements encourage this. And in several states unaccredited law schools continue to exist.

Vestiges of the old apprentice model remain to this day in architecture. In many states one may substitute a certain number of years work in an architect's office for graduation from a school of architecture. In this field too, the clinical or practice component has not been institutionalized. Leaders in the field refer to "the gap" as the two to three year period between graduation and examination, when budding architects simply disappear into offices. Just recently have architects begun to establish formal intern programs.[7]

Nor do the architects have a single model for their professional school. There are four-, five-, and six-year programs, articulated in various ways with the undergraduate curriculum, featuring a number of terminal degrees. The move today is toward a five-year program integrated with the undergraduate curriculum, but this is by no means the only route into architecture.

Similarly unstandardized are the feminized, subordinate fields of nursing and social work. The nurses have no strong professional school. Rather, hospital-based two or three-year programs compete with two-year associate degree programs in junior colleges and with four-year baccalaureate programs in universities. For years, nurse training in hospitals was a thinly disguised expedient to supply cheap labor. Only in the post-War era have registered nurses staffed the hospitals, rather than nurses in training.[8]

Social work likewise features a chaos of standards, position, degrees, and training programs, with large state-to-state variation in regulation.[9] The movement to license social workers began only twenty years ago and has not spread far. Currently, only 17 states require a license, and there is little reciprocity across states.[10] Some states offer an entry examination for bachelor's recipients, others for master's degree holders. Others require the Licensed Clinical Social Worker credential, which includes one to two years of supervised practice in addition to a master's degree. But there is typically little enforcement, and the field of private psychotherapy is crowded with unlicensed practitioners.

Teaching's standards appear inadequate to many today, and "the professions" are often invoked as the proper model. In fact, there is no single standard across the professions, although there has been an historical dynamic associated with development of university-based professional schools. Standards for the professions took definitive shape during the Progressive Era in the United States, but continue to evolve in all fields. Teaching is not the exception but the rule as it seeks professional standards in keeping with its own history, traditions, and unique circumstances.

Quality and Quantity in Standard-Setting

A second common concern among professions is to raise standards yet provide enough practitioners to meet demand. Teaching is so much larger than other professions that this problem seems unique to teaching, but in fact all human service occupations face this tension.

Responses to supply-demand imbalances across the professions have taken a number of forms worth examining.

In medicine, the doctor or physician is synonymous with the M.D., but a variety of so-called "irregular" practitioners have resisted mainstream medicine's efforts to drive them out of the field, and continue to serve communities overlooked by elite, specialized medicine. These include osteopaths, with their own colleges and specialties, chiropractors, midwives, and Christian Science faith healers, among others. If elite medicine had successfully eliminated these varieties of practice, then today many communities across the country would be seriously underserved.

Over the years, other expedients took shape as well. In many publicly supported hospitals, residents and interns help with staffing needs, and during past periods of shortage, foreign-trained residents, often of dubious quality, filled up urban hospitals in New York City, Philadelphia, and elsewhere.[11] The medical establishment has since cracked down on this weak point in medical standard-setting. There now exists a special council to set standards for foreign-trained doctors wishing to practice in the country, including U. S. citizens who train off-shore at non-selective medical schools. (Recall, for example, the U. S. justification for the invasion of Grenada: there was a medical school there.)

Another common move in the professions has been the elaboration of new roles within the field. Following the return of many medicorps men and women from Vietnam, a new position, the physician's assistant, was created to take advantage of the medics' expertise and to help meet demand for medical care in underserved areas. Physician's assistants now have their own university-based training program, licensing examination, and professional organization. Their numbers are growing.

Nurses made a similar move in response to shortages during World War II. A new position in nursing, the practical or licensed vocational nurse arose, to supplement the registered nurse. Today both kinds of nurses serve in private care, hospitals, and nursing homes throughout the country. Again, practical nurses have their own training programs and requirements, licensure examinations, state practice laws, and professional organizations.

Other fields made related moves. In engineering, architecture, and accounting, there are considerably more practitioners than fully licensed professionals. In these fields, state law protects the title not the practice itself. This wrinkle in licensure means that one can practice accounting, architecture, or engineering without obtaining a license, but cannot call oneself a certified public accountant, a registered architect, or a certified engineer.

In architecture, for example, some 200,000 individuals practice in the field, of whom only 75,000 are registered. State law places restrictions on the kind of work and amount of responsibility that less than fully licensed individuals may undertake, but many still practice these professions in subordinate roles.

Of the major professions, law and teaching are somewhat unusual for evolving neither specialties nor new positions within the field. The law profession is informally bifurcated between those serving corporate interests—business, government, unions, etc., and those lawyers serving individual clients in private practice. But this division touches on the status system and the nature of the work, not formal distinctions within the profession.

In teaching, instructional aides work in many schools, but are not considered part of the teaching profession, and the role has not become formalized either as a widely recognized position (such as the practical nurse), or as a professional of lesser qualifications (such as an accountant who has not taken the certification examination).

Every profession had to create flexible means to meet demand. In most professions, however, the means did not threaten the status of the core professional. Either sub-qualified individuals were allowed restricted practice, or subordinate roles were created and institutionalized. In teaching, however, the expedients used to meet demand—emergency credentials, misassignment of teachers, and increased class sizes—have genuinely damaged the profession in at least three ways.

First, resorting to emergency credentials during times of shortage has allowed the unqualified to enter and stay in the profession. In the past, when large shortages occurred, entire

cohorts of unqualified teachers filled the ranks. Staying on, such teachers convey incompetence to an increasingly educated public, and contribute to teaching's image problems.

Second, increases in class size make teaching more difficult and less rewarding for teachers. Classes of 35 or more—not uncommon over the years—prevent teachers from attending to individual needs, and make teaching an exercise in crowd control rather than education.

Finally, the heedless resort to unqualified teachers undermines teaching's claim to professional status. It is relatively easy to enact the outer forms of commonplace teaching—lecturing, checking seatwork, keeping order—in many classrooms, without in fact teaching well. But to the casual and uninformed eye, all is well in such classrooms. Consequently, it appears that "anyone can teach," that no special knowledge or skill is required. Despite, or perhaps because of, teaching's ubiquity, detecting quality in teaching is a complex matter. Teaching has not been able to insist on quality when so many in the ranks have been underqualified.

Excellence and Equity in the Professions

In the formative years of profession-building, the elite professions were able to insist on the quality of the individual practitioner as the most important factor, to the complete disregard of equity. Despite the egalitarian myth of open access to the professions, in contrast to the class-based system that had arisen in Europe, the standards movement helped exclude women, minorities, and immigrants from the professions, and this was quite intentional.[12]

As speeches, correspondence, conference proceedings, and journals of the era make clear, the elite professions sought not only to eliminate "overcrowding" in their fields—a euphemism for reducing supply to drive up fees—but to exclude certain "undesirables" from their ranks. To elevate the status of law, medicine, or architecture meant association with the right sort of person—white, upper middle class, anglo-saxon males.[13]

Informal policies simply exclude women and minorities. For example, medical schools had quotas on the number of women admitted, and the majority of hospitals in the country refused residencies to women.[14] And when, in 1912, the executive committee of the American Bar Association (ABA) inadvertently admitted two blacks they quickly asked them to resign and thereafter required all members to state their race, a practice not discontinued until 1943.[15]

Standard-setting abetted such tendencies. In the law, the profession's most fervent desire was to drive the urban night schools out of business, because those institutions catered to an ambitious immigrant clientele. The very thought of Jews, Italians, Poles, and other eastern Europeans pouring into the law, made the elite corporate lawyers and law professors of the ABA and the Association of American Law Schools shudder in horror. Program accreditation standards became their weapon of choice in cleansing the bar, because the new immigrants had a disconcerting habit of passing the state bar examinations. Likewise, the Flexner report's effect in driving the proprietary medical schools out of the business is quite well known.

Standard-raising in the professions had an unintentional equity effect as well on the distribution and availability of services. Most clearly in medicine, the demise of the proprietary schools together with the growing specialization of medicine meant that elite doctors would locate where practice was most lucrative. Rural and inner city areas came to be underserved, a consequence of reform poignantly reckoned in 1910 by a doctor from a medical school in Chattanooga, Tennessee:

> *True, our entrance requirements are not the same as those of the University of Pennsylvania or Harvard; nor do we pretend to turn out the same sort of finished product. Yet we prepare worthy, ambitious men who have striven hard with small opportunities and risen above their surroundings to become family doctors to the farmers of the south, and to the smaller towns of the mining districts...Would you say that such people should be denied physicians? Can the wealthy who are in a minority say to the poor majority, you shall not have a doctor?*[16]

Not until the 1960s and the Civil Rights movement was there sufficient public awareness of and concern for these problems. Then commenced in all professions a combination of government programs and professional reforms aimed at equity. These have had some modest successes, and gains have been registered. Today, considerably more women are enrolling in all the

professional schools. Minorities have also made gains, although not as dramatically as women. And some reforms have aimed at a better distribution of medical, legal, and other human services. But the exclusionary legacy lives on, and initiatives aiming at redress are politically, fiscally vulnerable and subject to tokenism (witness, for example, attacks on the Legal Services Corporation by government and profession alike).

Teaching cannot afford to trade off equity for excellence via an exclusionary strategy. Demand for teachers is too great. Taxpayer dollars cover teacher salaries, so their services must be distributed equitably as a matter of public policy. And times have changed. The expansion of individual rights attendant with the rise of the liberal state, and cultural shifts in the position of women and minorities rule out a return to the prejudices of an earlier era. The task for teaching is unprecedented—to create a mass profession dedicated to providing quality service, without sacrificing equity.

The Pivotal Role of the Professional School

Any reading of the rise of professionalism strongly suggests the centrality of the professional school. Professions took shape in America along with the modern university and this was no accident.

Professions rest on two claims—to knowledge and to trust. To profess means to know and to do what is right for the client. Professionals claim to possess special knowledge and to abide by an ethical code emphasizing the welfare of the client who typically comes before the professional with a serious problem. Our society has given professionals great authority to deal with such problems. A deed of trust has been granted that entails grave obligations.

How shall professionals acquire this knowledge and this ethical code? Acquire the special ways of knowing, judging, valuing, and acting that constitute the professional ethos? The answer begins with formal induction in a professional school. Only a strong initial set of experiences can properly launch a professional career. Beyond the school lies the community of practice and the company of fellows that constitute the reference group for professional behavior. Only in a professional school can one properly commence cultivating the knowledge, skills, and dispositions necessary to effective, ethical practice.

Such rhetoric captures that ideology of professionalism, but the professional school came to serve a variety of purposes. Most importantly, the school is critical to the generation and transmission of the knowledge base. Scientific medicine had its advent before the rise of the medical schools, but the growth of scientific medicine thereafter took place largely within the schools that served also to transmit the accumulating knowledge to future generations of physicians.

Likewise, the modern law school took shape at Harvard University under the deanship of Christopher Columbus Langdell from 1870 to 1895. Langdell championed the case method and sought to establish a fixed, formal course of study for all lawyers. "If law be not a science," he argued, "a university will best consult its own dignity in declining to teach it. If it be not a science, it is a species of handicraft, and may best be learned by serving an apprenticeship to one who practices."[17] Thus did the law appropriate a scientific justification for a university-based school. Most other professions have attempted to follow suit.

But the professional school served a latent social function as well: to screen out undesirables more efficiently than tests or academic requirements. In the formative years, the elite professions sought to elevate their status through exclusive association with a certain class of individual. The ideology stressed meritocratic access, but in fact, as accreditation strategies drove out weaker institutions catering to immigrants and the working class, the social composition of the profession was altered as intended. The call for standards, for rigor, for public protection served twin purposes: to elevate the quality of professional preparation and to transform law and medicine into elite occupations.

The pursuit of status and competence proceeded hand in hand, with the professional school playing a pivotal role. Education, however, cannot afford an exclusionary strategy as it seeks to ground competence in science. A genuine professional school has yet to emerge in education, and no exemplars exist to rival the impact of Johns Hopkins in medicine or Harvard in the law. Rather, the common view is to

celebrate diversity in the preparation of teachers, acknowledging the wide range of institutions and programs suited to local conditions.

This view has much to recommend it, but, in terms of professionalization, poses a problem. In other fields, the professional school came to represent the claim for a knowledge base that was standardized. If the curriculum and experiences of teacher education vary from program to program, then it appears no core of knowledge is necessary to effective practice, and the rationale for a profession is undercut. The "true" professions successfully negotiated a consensus on the knowledge base as part of the advancement strategy. The educational field must seek the grounds for such a consensus while respecting the need for diversity and sensitivity to local conditions. This too is an unprecedented challenge.

Teaching's Circumstances

If other professions supply lessons for teaching, it is equally the case that teaching is distinctive in a number of respects. Teachers may yearn for the status and wages obtained by doctors and lawyers, but they are properly leery of inappropriate analogies and of professionalism's costs. Any effort to learn from the professions must begin with an appreciation of teaching's circumstances.

Teaching is a public monopoly featuring conscripted clients. Whereas other professions had to secure a market for their services, teaching has a captive market based on compulsory education laws. This means teaching cannot establish governance arrangements akin to other fields. There will be tensions between public and professional claims on governance. Policy based on claims of expertise will vie for legitimacy with policy based on representations of the public will. Policy to render teaching accountable will vie with policy to support sound professional judgment. Absent consumer choice, external regulation of teaching will enjoy a strong rationale.

Teaching is a mass profession. No other field, even nursing, approaches the teaching occupation in sheer size, in the numbers needed to keep school. Some 1300 institutions currently prepare teachers as compared with 174 professional schools in law, 127 in medicine, 92 in architecture, and 383 baccalaureate degree programs in nursing. In the twentieth century, the need to supply enough teachers for a rapidly expanding system dominated the effort to set standards. This pressure persists, prompting calls for new staffing patterns, new roles, and positions in the schools that might differentiate salaries and so relieve fiscal burdens while supplying the requisite numbers.

As already indicated, teaching today is heavily unionized. Other semi-professions, notably nursing and social work, have flirted with unionism over the years, but only in teaching did this strategy take hold on a widespread basis. The organizations that represent teachers contain a large cadre of individuals committed to collective bargaining, grievance and other due process procedures, strikes and job actions, political action at state and national levels, and adversarialism in response to administrators and school boards.

The union posture is ill-fitted to the pursuit of professionalism. The operating style, underlying assumptions, strategies employed, and the issues agenda, do not square. Professionals, for example, seek control over standards of work as essential to their autonomy. Unions seek highly specified rules and contract requirements that delimit the responsibility of workers. Unions owe protection to their members. This legally binding obligation conflicts with injunctions to rid teaching of incompetents.

From a union perspective, then, incompetence is management's responsibility. Principals, serving as agents of the school board, evaluate teachers. From a professional perspective, however, incompetence is the profession's responsibility. Peer evaluation, however imperfectly it works in practice, is the professional norm.[18] Can a heavily unionized occupation professionalize? There is no precedent for such an evolution, no guidelines on how to blend these orientations into a consistent advancement strategy. If the "professional union" is to be more than a contradiction in terms, the grounds for rapprochement have yet to emerge.

Another point. A triple whammy plagues teaching's status prospects. It is a feminized occupation involving service to low status clients—the young—coupled to an equivocal mission in a competitive, materialistic society. Education stands for the American Dream, for

hopes of the future, yet as Frances Fitzgerald discovered anew in her recent study of contemporary utopian communities, a strain of anti-intellectualism continues to pervade American life.[19] The citizenry regards teachers with what Lortie termed "reverence and disdain." We honor teachers in our ideals and ignore them in practice. This mixed regard for the work will continue to cast its shadow over efforts to professionalize teaching.

Historically, teaching has also suffered a stereotypical image as "women's work," as a default career for "unsalable men and unmarriageable women," in Willard Waller's phrase.[20] The high status, high-paying professions filled with men; the low status, low-paying semi-professions filled with women, who were managed by men. Today, only half this equation appears to be changing. In increasing numbers, women are entering the elite professions, but this movement has not served to benefit the semi-professions. Rather, it appears that the cream is being skimmed among talented women. Perhaps we should update Waller by noting that teaching is becoming the refuge for unsalable *women* as well as men.

Undoubtedly, this is too harsh and time-bound an assessment. Teaching as work and career is far more resilient than current recruitment trends suggest. The Women's Movement will continue to have potent effects in our society, with the trend toward greater equity. The social meaning of teaching may lose its gender-linked stigma, but this likely will occur slowly and fitfully. For the near term, the mixed regard for teaching will continue to cast a shadow over efforts to elevate its status.

Coupled to teaching's shadowed status is its sheer ubiquity. As Philip Jackson most recently reminds,[21] teaching is omnipresent in our culture. It occurs on TV, at the YMCA, in private schools, in universities, in summer camps. Does teaching really require arcane, special knowledge? Appearances suggest otherwise. In other professions, the mysteries of practice contribute to the mastery of professionals. The public has little direct access to practice and so stands in some awe before the professional. But in teaching, the mystery-mastery connection is broken. The public sees so much of teaching that to sustain claims for a special knowledge base is much more difficult.

Closely related is the perception that teaching requires a fusion of ordinary with special knowledge. To the man in the street, much that a teacher does appears as related to personality dispositions and interpersonal skills as to the employment of technical knowledge. To an extent, every profession blends ordinary with special knowledge, but in teaching the balance appears tipped toward the commonplace. The formula "subject matter plus learning from experience" seems to capture what teachers must know. For at least the foreseeable future, teachers will have difficulty convincing the public otherwise.

Yet a third issue distinguishes teaching's knowledge base. Most professions possess means for accumulating and transmitting knowledge useful for practice. The concept of a *codified* knowledge base implies not only a system of organization and verification, but of representation and transmission. For certain professions, science and technology compose the code.

In engineering and medicine, for example, the knowledge base for practice is represented in instruments, in written protocols, in compendia such as the Merck manual. In the law, the wisdom of practice is collected and transmitted via legal briefs, court decisions, laws and regulations, and commentaries such as Blackstone's. Carefully crafted cases make up the curriculum of law school and many business schools. In architecture, the wisdom of the past is handed down via artifacts, plans, and drawings. Budding architects can visit the buildings of the great masters.

But in teaching, as in other human service fields (nursing, social work, and the ministry come to mind), the practitioner deals primarily in utterances, not texts or artifacts.[22] The wisdom of practice lies inarticulate in the painstakingly accumulated experience of the practitioner, who works in isolation. Great teachers leave their marks on students, but not on teaching itself. Social science has begun to contribute precepts and principles useful in teaching, but much of what a good teacher knows may elude science's net.

In Gage's phrase,[23] there may be a scientific base for the art of teaching, but the science itself is probabilistic, requiring judgment in application, and the art remains. Teaching possesses no case

knowledge, no method through which to capture, test, and transmit the craft knowledge of the effective teacher. Consequently, one source of wisdom about teaching—what the good teacher has learned and can do—remains untapped. Can social science alone provide the basis for codifying knowledge of teaching? This seems unlikely, but the search for supplementary, complementary, or alternative methods barely has begun.

Finally, teaching stands in a unique relation to the liberal arts. In other professions, the liberal arts form a non-instrumental basis for the profession. All professions seek well-educated men and women, but not for any direct connection to competence on the job. Rather, the liberal arts constitute what Lee Shulman calls an *entitlement*, rather than a *performance* standard.[24] To be entitled to serve as a doctor or lawyer in our society, one must first be an educated person. But this accepted standard allows a clear-cut separation of liberal arts and professional education, a clean distinction in the rationale for each (pre-medical requirements blur the distinction somewhat in medicine). In teaching, however, this relation is indistinct. The liberal arts serve as both entitlement and performance base for practice, making their combination into a course of study a deeply problematic matter.

Teaching's Prospects

The conclusion from even this brief and unsystematic analysis of teaching is inescapable. Teaching cannot in any crude way emulate other fields. Too much about teaching is unique; its special circumstances are fundamental not peripheral. No swift stroke can cut through the social knot binding together teaching's circumstances. What might be some starting points, though, for collective advancement in teaching?

Salary increases provide the most direct, policy manipulable factor, but as historical research has shown,[25] wages in teaching closely parallel fluctuations in demand for teachers. The spectre of shortages impels salary increases, but teaching's relative position in occupational rankings by average wage has changed little over the years. Teacher organizations must press continuously for the higher salaries, but no dramatic breakthrough is likely.

To advance teaching, the tendency is to identify one or more prominent aspects of professionalism, then develop parallels in education. Three examples illustrate the trend; the effort to create standards controlled by the profession; to establish a post-baccalaureate professional school; and to introduce advanced positions into teaching.

The first strategy rises out of recommendations in *A Nation Prepared*, the report of the Carnegie Task Force on Teaching as a Profession.[26] This task force composed of the education coalition of the eighties—business leaders, elected public officials, and teachers organizations—recommended creation of the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards, and the recommendation has been implemented. Research is underway on a new set of assessments for teaching, and a national board will be constituted.

A number of hopes rest on this development. Advocates of teacher professionalism hope that the effort to set standards will encourage emergence of a consensus on teaching's knowledge base, and will provide ground for teachers' authority in the schools. If the Board's certificate gains legitimacy, this will help undergird claims to expert knowledge in teaching, and will bolster teacher authority in the schools. Assessment procedures should also have a salutary effect on the curriculum of teacher education, providing a more powerful conception of teaching around which to organize teacher preparation. And, if the standard includes residency requirements in the schools, then the process should encourage collegiality and involvement of teachers.

Teacher organizations hope that standard-setting will help increase teacher autonomy and control, shifting the balance from external regulation and accountability to professional responsibility. Furthermore, board certification may provide the basis for salary increases. One scenario proposes that districts and perhaps states might add increments to their salary schedules for certified teachers. In this manner, attention to standards will provide a basis for additional status and income.

For their part, elected officials view standard-setting as a desirable public posture. Board standards may provide an objective means for evaluating the quality of teachers, and may

exert influence on state licensure standards. Certification may also provide a way to reward excellent teaching, and to identify talent for advanced positions in teaching. Standards connote rigor and scrutiny of teaching. If the public can be guaranteed of improvements in teaching, then they may be willing to allocate additional funds to education. According to these calculations, standards play a pivotal role in creating conditions for advancement.

A second starting point is the creation of a genuine professional school for teachers. This is the approach taken by the Holmes Group as advocated in their report, *Tomorrow's Teachers.* [27] Like the Carnegie Report, this reform effort lays out an inter-connected set of recommendations, urging that they be implemented in concert. The heart of this reform, however, is to establish a graduate-level professional school that joins a research-based curriculum with a solid liberal arts education, and extends teacher preparation into "professional development schools" that serve as analogs to teaching hospitals.

The Holmes Group also hopes to develop the knowledge base of teaching, as represented not in an assessment, but in a curriculum; strengthen ties between the university and the schools; and elevate teaching's status by providing advanced degree preparation for teachers. Part of the stigma that for years has attached to teachers derives from the low prestige associated with schools of education. If teaching is to become professional work then teacher preparation must be strengthened and must secure greater status and resources on university campuses.

In every other profession, the rise of the professional school was critical to establishment of the profession. The professional school serves a number of indispensable functions, including conduct of research to expand the knowledge base, transmission of professional knowledge to the practitioner, initial socialization of the professional, and gatekeeping for entry. The Holmes Group represents a necessary attempt to establish professional education on a sound footing, elevate the status of the enterprise, and enlist the university as an ally for the teaching profession.

Both the Holmes Group and the Carnegie Task Force endorse the third strategy, which is to introduce advanced positions into teaching. Teaching has always featured easy entry, high turnover, and re-entry, especially among women who drop out to start families, and then return. Occupational commitment, at least as conceived in terms of the typical male career,[28] has been low in teaching.

A two-tier structure would allow many young people to enter teaching for several years at modest wage levels, and then move on to other work. Those who wished to stay on could look forward to advanced positions, higher pay, and expanded responsibilities. This scheme would generate sufficient supply by drawing on the altruism of the young who wished to be "short termers," but would lay the groundwork for professionalism by creating a leadership cadre in teaching, who would be responsible for such advanced responsibilities as supervision and mentoring of neophytes, staff development, curriculum development, and schoolwide decision-making. Career teachers would have the option of working ten to twelve month periods. The prospect of advancement into lead positions would help retain the best teachers, who otherwise may leave education entirely or switch into administration.

The strategy has strong adherents in the policy community, and many states and localities have already initiated moves in this direction. However, the introduction of status distinctions into teaching has provoked skepticism and opposition from teachers.

From the union perspective, this reform is meddlesome because it undermines solidarity and complicates bargaining (e.g., are teachers who supervise other teachers actually quasi administrators?). But teachers themselves are also suspicious. Creating advanced positions appears to introduce competition into the teaching ranks, where cooperation is called for; subtly depreciates regular classroom teaching by rewarding responsibilities outside the classroom; and threatens to create yet a new layer of bureaucracy in the schools made up of lead or master teachers who oversee the work of regular teachers. Teachers also fear that such plans are in reality disguised merit pay that will reward the few but do little to improve the quality of teaching.[29]

Each of these strategies holds promise, but entails risks. The technical, logistic, and political problems associated with standard-setting are formidable. The effort to establish a genuine

professional school for teachers requires some heroic assumptions about the capacity and willingness to change in universities dominated by an academic status system and a tradition of faculty control. And the move to create new positions in teaching meets strong resistance from teachers themselves and runs the risks outlined above.

Professionalism is a powerful and beguiling theme with which to rationalize the reform of teaching. However, as this analysis has illustrated, there have been serious social costs associated with professionalism as well. Teaching is different from other professions in many respects, but even if similarities outweighed differences, there would be good reason to avoid wholehearted embrace of professionalism modeled on medicine and the law.

As teaching seeks to elevate its status and prospects, it must attend to a broader set of concerns. Professionalism alone is not enough. There must be a social vision animating reform that encompasses but is not limited to the interests of teachers. Educational reform must embrace equity goals, honor the rights of parents and communities, and promote tolerance for diversity and responsiveness to clients.

In the current historical movement, the rallying cry is "Excellence!" and the dominant rationale is economic competitiveness. Teacher professionalism fits comfortably with these themes. "Fewer and better schools" was Flexner's rallying cry when he made his visits to medical schools. The posture led to fewer and better doctors as well, a single-minded emphasis on the technical excellence of the individual practitioner.

Teachers cannot strike such a narrow, socially impoverished bargain. Improving the technical adequacy of teaching and enhancing the prospects of the profession via higher standards, better professional education, and career ladders must be coupled to a broader social vision of teaching and of education. Concern with instrumental aspects of reform must now be matched with attention to the ideals of reform. To what ends should we pursue professionalism in teaching? This is the question we must now ask.

Notes

1. For an ordinary language analysis of the concept "professionalism," see J. Moline, "Teachers and Professionalism," in C. E. Finn, D. Ravitch, & R. T. Fancher (eds.), *Against Mediocrity. The Humanities in America's High Schools*. New York: Holmes & Meier, 1984, 197-213.

2. G. Sykes, "The Social Consequences of Standard-Setting in the Professions," paper prepared for the Carnegie Task Force on Teaching as a Profession. New York: Carnegie Forum, November, 1986, p. 3.

3. This account of professionalism is well represented in the sociological literature on the professions. The standard reference is M. S. Larson, *The Rise of Professionalism*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977.

4. On various aspects in the relationship between the university and the professions, see L. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965, for the definitive history; B. Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1976, for the early evolution of the relationship; and C. Jencks & D. Reisman, *The Academic Revolution*. Garden City: Doubleday, 1968, for an analysis of strains in the relationship.

5. The rise of the medical profession is treated exhaustively in P. Starr, *The Social Transformation of American Medicine*. New York: Basic Books, 1982, and with special emphasis on the development of medical school in K. Ludmerer, *Learning to Heal: The Development of American Medical Education*. New York: Basic Books, 1985.

6. The definitive history of the development of the legal profession, the law school, and standards for the law is R. Stevens, *Law School: Legal Education in America from the 1850s to the 1980s*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983. For a parallel account emphasizing development of the legal profession outside the elite eastern establishment, see W. R. Johnson, *Schooled Lawyers: A Study in the Clash of Professional Cultures*. New York: New York University Press, 1978.

7. See National Council of Architectural Registration Boards, *Architect Registration Examination Handbook, Volume 1*. Washington: NCARB, 1985. For a thoughtful discussion of trends and controversies in architectural education, see R. Gutman, "Educating Architects: Pedagogy and the Pendulum," *The Public Interest*, 80, Summer, 1985, 67-91.

8. For a standard source on nursing history, see P. A. Kalisch & B. J. Kalisch, *The Advance of American Nursing* (2nd edition). Boston: Little-Brown, 1982. For recent revisionist history, see the study by B. Melosh, *"The Physician's Hand" Work Culture and Conflict in American Nursing*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982; and a collection of essays by E. C. Langemann (ed.), *Nursing History: New Perspectives, New Possibilities*. New York: Teachers College Press, 1983.

9. A recent interpretative history of the rise of American social work, including attention to strains associated with professionalization efforts is J. H. Ehrenreich, *The Altruistic*

Imagination. A History of Social Work and Social Policy in the United States. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985.

10. A. Lareau, "A Comparison of Professional Examinations in Six Fields: Implications for the Teaching Profession." Occasional Paper. Stanford: October, 1985.

11. R. Shryock, *Medical Licensing in America, 1650-1965.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1967.

12. The case is most clear in the law. See J. S. Auerbach, *Unequal Justice: Lawyers and Social Change in Modern America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1976. Recent scholarship has traced efforts of women and minorities who persevered in entering the elite professions despite the barriers. See, for example, R. M. Morantz-Sanchez, *Sympathy and Science: Women Physicians in American Medicine.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1985; K. B. Morello, *The Invisible Bar. The Woman Lawyer in America: 1638 to the Present.* New York: Random House, 1986; and G. R. Segal, *Blacks in the Law.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983.

13. See Auerbach, and G. Markowitz & D. Rosner, "Doctors in Crisis," in S. Reverby & D. Rosner, *Health Care in America: Essays in Social History.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1979, 185-205.

14. See M. Walsh, *"Doctors Wanted: No Women Need Apply": Sexual Barriers in the Medical Profession, 1835-1975.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977.

15. Segal, pp. 18ff.

16. Quoted in Starr, p. 125.

17. Quoted in Stevens, p. 52.

18. For an exploration of these issues, compare E. M. Bridges, *The Incompetent Teacher.* Philadelphia: Falmer Press, 1986, with L. Darling-Hammond, "A Proposal for Evaluation in the Teaching Profession," *Elementary School Journal,* 86(4), March, 1986, 531-52.

19. F. Fitzgerald, *Cities on a Hill.* New York: Simon & Schuster, 1986.

20. W. Waller, *The Sociology of Teaching.* New York: Wiley, 1932, p. 61.

21. P. W. Jackson, *The Practice of Teaching.* New York: Teachers College Press, 1986.

22. This distinction derives from D. R. Olson, "From Utterance to Text," *Harvard Education Review,* 47(3), August, 1977, 257-81.

23. N. L. Gage, *The Scientific Basis of the Art of Teaching.* New York: Teachers College Press, 1978.

24. L. Shulman, personal communication.

25. See M. Sedlak & S. Schlossman, "Who Will Teach? Historical Perspectives on the Changing Appeal of Teaching as a Profession" (R-3472-CSTP). Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, November, 1986.

26. Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy, *A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century.* New York: Carnegie Forum, 1986.

27. The Holmes Group, *Tomorrow's Teachers: A Report of the Holmes Group.* East Lansing: Author, 1986. See also the collection of articles critiquing this report in *Teachers College Record* 88(3), Spring, 1987.

28. For a critique of male-centered conceptions of the teaching career, see S. K. Biklen, "'I Have Always Worked:' Elementary Schoolteaching as a Career," *Phi Delta Kappan,* 67(7), March, 1986, 504-08.

29. Career ladder schemes in teaching have received considerable scrutiny. For criticisms of the idea, see S. Rosenholtz, "Political Myths About Educational Reform: Lessons From Research on Teaching," *Phi Delta Kappan,* 66(5), January, 1985, 349-55; and S. Rosenholtz, "Career Ladders and Merit Pay: Capricious Fads or Fundamental Reforms," *Elementary School Journal* 86(4), March, 1986, 513-30. For a thoughtful article supporting the introduction of new positions into teaching, see K. Devaney, "The Lead Teacher: Ways to Begin," paper prepared for the Carnegie Task Force on Teaching as a Profession. Washington: Carnegie Forum, March, 1987.

Concluding Panel

Gordon M. Ambach
Executive Director, Council of Chief State School Officers
James E. Martin
President, Auburn University
Lynn O. Simons
State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Wyoming
Richard C. Kunkel
Executive Director, National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education

GORDON AMBACH: In our concluding panel, three of our colleagues who have been with us through the entire session will provide us with some observations about what has been most important to them. Our objective was to have a true state of the art discussion and review on the issues of teaching and teachers, and I think we have had exactly that. There have been fourteen very splendid presentations. From Susan Rosenholtz, Ted Sizer, Pat Welsh, James Kelly, Mary Futrell, John Ogbu, and Tom Arciniega to Asa Hilliard, Myrna Cooper, Ward Ghory, Sandy Garrett, Gary Griffin, Al Shanker, and Gary Sykes, it really has been an extraordinary array. One would ordinarily hear maybe one or two of these people in the course of a month, if that many. If there is a fault here, it's been the richness of the presentations, which have been almost too much for any of us really to absorb. I think that each of us will have a lot of sorting out to do in our own minds. But our approach, once again, has been to spread the table as richly as we could with the state of the art in this area.

We are deeply appreciative to all of you for being with us through this session. I will now ask James Martin, who is the president of Auburn University; Lynn Simons, the state superintendent from Wyoming; and third, Richard Kunkel, the executive director of NCATE, to briefly comment to help us assess what we have heard.

JAMES MARTIN: I want to say, Gordon, how much I appreciate the opportunity to participate in this conference because I think I did learn a lot. With each of us coming from our own respective backgrounds, it is important to realize that unless we have the facts, frequently we will draw the wrong conclusions.

I'm delighted that I stayed for the full program, because quite frankly, I was depressed Monday afternoon because of what I heard about the sorry state of the education profession. However, I see that some progress is indeed being made. What we are doing is defining some goals that we would like to accomplish.

I saw in this morning's *USA Today* that the number of students in this country is down since 1970. If that is the case I want to share a hypothesis with you that we have added more administrators, counselors, and special people in the education field than we have students since 1970. We have added more people than students, yet we are complaining about our inability to get the job done and that we are not doing the kind of job that we should be doing.

What I hear at this conference is concern about what the teaching profession is and what it is going to become. Let me just share with you that teaching and schools are organizations of people. We all understand that. People organizations run on morale, conviction, and motivation—morale, conviction and motivation, pure and simple. And I think that any

organization that is trying to improve must spend a great deal of time on what it is going to become rather than what it has been. History is all right, but that is behind you; the future, you have some control over. In order to improve teaching, in particular the morale and motivation, then you must review the reward system. I am convinced that we need to reward and recognize individual performance as one of the key elements in improving our instructional and educational programs.

And a third thought I had at this conference—I think that every human organization that is trying to improve, must more clearly define its goals, and become more efficient by finding ways to reduce the bureaucracy that makes teachers or employees prisoners of their organization. And I'm not sure we are talking a whole lot about that. In fact, I think I am hearing talk about more bureaucracy, not less, although occasionally there was a suggestion that we were going to at least experiment with less bureaucracy.

I heard this group say that a good teacher has the required base of knowledge as well as the ability to perform in the classroom. We discussed the national board and national certification for some outstanding teachers. I would just share one thought with you—what happens when ten years after that teacher has volunteered and been certified, he is not performing in the classroom? We wrestle with that in our universities and I am sure you do in your schools all the time. You have not solved that problem. I have not heard anything about recertification. And I would submit to you that if you want to look at a profession that probably most of us will depend upon here today, that you wouldn't have it any other way, other than recertification.

How many of you are going to get on an airline today? Airline pilots are recertified every six months, not just on knowledge of how the airways and the system works, but on performance as well. Teaching is a profession that has to have a base of knowledge and also must be able to demonstrate performance. The universities and schools all have to wrestle with this.

How do you maintain the motivation after some base level of testing? To do these things, we need to focus more clearly on our goals and to look at certain types of students who are at risk. Risk to me means the probability of an event happening and that can only be between zero and one. In my view every student we have is at risk, not just any particular group, every single one of them that walks in that schoolhouse is at risk for any number of reasons, all of which are different.

I was impressed with what I saw with respect to distance learning, but I would share with you the thought that hit me. If the distance learning program is the best there is and can educate a student in a distant part of the state, why don't you educate the one next door with that same program. It should be learning independent of distance, not distance learning.

Changes in education are going to occur regardless. They will be more favorable, however, when teachers have the motivation, the recognition, and the reward system for reaching the goals of the profession. Again, learning requires effort. It is not something that is just poured into the head, it demands effort. The outstanding teachers will be the ones who spark those individuals to want to learn and who assist them in accomplishing goals. Too often our organizations, universities included, tend to be over-administered and under-managed, and I think there is a significant difference. Most of our organizations become a bureaucracy in which we over-administer, and provide too little management and too little risk taking.

But I have enjoyed the conference. I think I learned a lot as a result of this, and I certainly wish all of you well. Thank you.

LYNN SIMONS: I have come to an unexpected conclusion at this conference. The topic, you remember, is "Advancing Effective Teaching for At-Risk Youth." I am leaving, not with a stronger commitment to children at risk, which I have had all along, but rather a stronger commitment to restructuring schools. Let me tell you some things that I heard that were particularly meaningful to me and some things that I am doing at home that I think I will do a little differently.

One person said that when we help schools to change, we should give them not plaques, but more money. I thought that was important in light of something that I am doing in Wyoming. A year ago we took some of our Chapter II money, a pitiful amount, $60,000, and said, "We are looking for schools that want to innovate, that want to sit down and talk about doing something different.

We will give up to $10,000 to buy time for people in those schools to sit down and think about how they might do something better." Most of the proposals had to do with improving the teaching of writing. We took what we thought were the best. We were quite unselective in what their goals were, because what we really wanted them to do was to sit down and to work something out together in a different kind of way from what they had done before. This year we are going to evaluate those schools.

However, we are probably not going to get much insight into restructuring from this modest effort. We really need to continue to push and fund these programs so that the handful of schools in Wyoming that want to make the effort might really get somewhere.

Over the last year or so I have toying with the idea in my own mind as to what restructuring of schools means. I have a better idea after hearing Al Shanker last night and other presenters who talked about different configurations. When I had such trouble in defining restructuring, not only to myself, but to others, I talked with somebody who said, "You know, we might want to think about getting a group of chiefs together to talk about what restructuring of schools means." And I think that this was as close as we have come in recent years to thinking that through. It is still a course un-thought through, but I am convinced that the needs of all students are congruent with the needs of our students who are at risk. One of our presenters said, "Kids have more than they have ever had before, but they need more."

Let me tell you about my own experience with my own two children. One, very much a learner as I was, was eager and excited about what he was learning. The older was quite different, not at all turned on by school, kind of lackadaisical about the whole thing, yet a capable and bright student. I puzzled about this from a personal and a professional standpoint. I don't believe that many of our students are engaged in what they are doing in school. I believe that there is something wrong with what is going on in school when this occurs. I believe that we can change it so that we do have engagement on the part of students.

The presentation of the Oklahoma State University Distance Learning project was fun to watch. I thought, "There's Sesame Street in German," when the very sassy introduction came on. But you remember that someone said, "The bells ring at the wrong time when we have distance learning." There was a perfect case in point. The 55-minute period, the bells ringing, the industrial model, the turned-off kids whether they are kids at risk or regular kids from affluent households with a strong commitment to education. There is something fundamentally not grabbing the youngsters where and when they need to be grabbed.

Ward Ghory rang another bell with me when he talked about parents and dealing with parents. It was disturbing to me to think about what few tools parents have and how we expect them to use what tools they have in a mature manner. Yet how in the world can we get a mature response from a 20-year-old parent who has been deprived of her own childhood and is now trying to deal with that of her own kids?

Remember that old sign, "Managers do things right, Leaders do the right thing." We face a tremendous challenge, in advancing effective teaching for at-risk youth, advancing the cause of so many distressed and discouraged and burned-out and demoralized teachers. But we here are also in the avant-garde of education in the United States. We have a tremendous responsibility in doing the right thing for our schools. I believe more than ever that we must begin to *redefine* the schools and make it possible for the people who are "out there in the trenches" to redefine the schools themselves. Thank you.

RICHARD KUNKEL: How would you like to be the last presenter out of seventeen through this conference to stand up at this podium? I want to put this event into a historical perspective, and then make some sort of a "ball score" evolution of the chiefs' efforts in recent years. First of all, Verne Duncan had to leave for other CCSSO activities. He and I have been together continuously in meetings for the last seven days.

I am professionally and personally thrilled with the attention the Chief State School Officers and university and college presidents have given to the profession of teaching, the preparation of those people, and the youth at risk whom they teach. So, first of all I want to thank CCSSO for this event.

For those of you who have not observed CCSSO actions on this topic for the last five or six years, I will give a thumbnail sketch of events

leading to this meeting. Many of you remember Anne Campbell, a former chief in Nebraska. Eight or nine years ago, under Anne's leadership, the Council of Chief State School Officers began to look systematically at the recruitment, training, and credentialing of teachers, beginning a time-line that leads us to the present. The leadership of Cal Frazier, Bob Benton, and Ted Sanders continued that direction over the years, resulting in a Council report, *Staffing the Nation's Schools*. The chiefs in this room are very familiar with this report, which put into writing some recommendations on recruitment, preparation, and credentialing of teachers that chiefs and college presidents could agree on, as well as the teachers themselves. So these are not new topics.

Do you realize how significant that was for people who worked with the preparation of teachers and the recruitment of teachers? When chief state school officers nationally voiced their concern about the quality of classroom teachers, that made the other people who deal with teacher education feel inspired and supported. About three years ago, the chiefs created a committee on teacher education and school/college collaboration. The importance of that committee was the breadth of its effort—it didn't deal only with topics like licensing, certification, and preparation. It addressed the big question of collaboration, considering the role of university presidents, chancellors, and deans in the creative collaborative programs which have been occurring at Yale and other places. So the scope of that committee was broad. I have been in attendance at that committee's meetings probably more than anybody in this room over the years, as a guest.

I have heard a lot of good things about the Yale conference on school-college collaboration that occurred five years ago. Some of you may have been there. It was kind of a counterpart to this particular event. I was lucky to be at the Wisconsin meeting, the CCSSO Summer Institute in 1985, which some of you attended. Let me remind you of that Wisconsin meeting. It was Gordon's year as president of this organization. Gordon saw the topic of teacher preparation and school/college collaboration as the key theme for the conference. As at this conference, Al Shanker and Tomás Arciniega were there. Many of you in the room were also there.

So I want you to see the Wisconsin gathering as an important and continuing event in the chiefs' developing involvement in the preparation of teachers. This intent was reflected this week, particularly with presentations of people like Ted Sizer who clearly said, "You know, we're all in this thing together." You heard that today from Gary Sykes on the building of the profession, "We're all in this thing together." And I could see it in the looks on your faces when Asa Hilliard presented some very concrete ideas and projects. I could see you thinking, "Hey, that's good stuff. I want to take that back and make sure that my people who work with the program development stuff are familiar with those things." So I see an enduring theme—the preparation of the teaching work force, and that you folks have done an excellent job with this important agenda.

I want to finish with some "scores" on this topic, and make three positive observations about the whole three days. First is the idea of people coming together to assist in building a solid profession. When the chiefs sit with the Council, when the presidents sit with AASCU [American Association of State Colleges and Universities] or NASULGC [National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges], when the deans sit with the Holmes group or Sizer's group, people come together to build a solid profession. They are not functioning in their regulatory role, but in a commitment role, to build the profession itself. That is when CCSSO becomes a symbol of leadership separate from the chief state school officers of Wyoming, Minnesota, Montana, etc. A balance must be achieved for both of them to be effective.

The second positive observation is the importance of the chiefs spending more and more time with college presidents and deans to talk about topics of tremendous interest to all of us.

The third positive sign is the deep, deep seriousness of the overriding theme of these three days—the topic of "at-risk" children. The topic must be more than a catchy expression. While the words are often linked to Ted Bell about whom we all care and have a lot of feeling, the words are also about where we are today, about what we must do. We must reach all of our children in all of our schools because the risk of the down side is too great.

So those are the good signs. I really do believe that if you look at the postures of the past eight

years and the topics, you could not have done better with the substance of this conference. I cannot imagine eight conferences bringing together the fourteen presenters we heard this week. While some of it was long and the seats were hard (I witnessed that as well), you could not have had fourteen better people. So you chiefs and presidents go away from here knowing what some of the front line thinkers are talking about and what ideas are being suggested regarding a better future for at-risk children.

I enjoyed being here, both in the professional and personal senses, and being with my friends as well. Thank you very much.

Appendix A

Mellon State Projects (1983-1990)

Mellon I (1984-1986): School-College Collaboration to Enhance Elementary and Secondary Education

Colorado: Analysis of teacher and student teacher evaluation models and development of evaluation instruments. (Colorado State Department of Education)

Florida: Curriculum development, training for high school counselors, information dissemination, and monitoring to assist the four public high schools of the Gadsden County School District to meet new state standards and increase the college-going pool of black high school students. (Florida Institute of Education and Florida State Department of Education)

Guam: Establishment of the Guam Department of Education/University of Guam Laboratory Demonstration Elementary School. (Guam Department of Education)

Iowa: Revision of the basic state certification system and development of a plan for an integrated professional development system from preservice preparation through induction to continuing education. (Iowa Department of Public Instruction)

Maine: Training of regional assistance teams of school, state, and university staff in design of school improvement activities, including application of research, collaborative planning, and assessment of needs and resources. (Maine State Department of Education and Cultural Services)

Mississippi: Development of a statewide mechanism for matching higher education resources with the inservice education needs of local school districts. (Mississippi State Department of Education)

Montana: Improvement of the state level on-site accreditation review process by involving representatives of higher education, K-12 teachers, and school administrators as well as the Office of Public Instruction staff as team members. (Montana State Office of Public Instruction)

New York: Support of regional councils, representing school districts, colleges, and universities, in addressing teacher shortages, recruitment, and retention; dissemination of booklet on model collaborative efforts. (New York State Education Department)

Northern Mariana Islands: A model project to facilitate cooperation between the Northern Mariana Islands Department of Education and the Northern Marianas College and to improve English instructional programs for elementary, secondary, and college students. (Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands Department of Education)

Ohio: Articulation between secondary schools and higher education: a parent involvement component to inform parents of university requirements and assist parents in helping their children study and make

decisions; a forum for counselors, administrators, university representatives, and parents. (Ohio State Department of Public Instruction)

Oregon: Implementation of a collaborative statewide support system for the continued professional development of school personnel. (Oregon State Department of Education, Oregon State University/Western Oregon State College of Education, and University of Oregon College of Education)

Rhode Island: Implementation of a computerized feedback system for student achievement data and a series of regional workshops to facilitate working relationships between secondary and postsecondary education to improve high school curriculum. (Rhode Island Department of Education.)

Vermont: Springboard Project to design and implement vocational and technical educational curricula spanning secondary and postsecondary education. (Vermont State Department of Education and University of Vermont)

Wyoming: Coalition of personnel from the State Department of Instruction, seven community colleges, University of Wyoming, the Wyoming Education Association, and local school districts to identify needs and coordinate efforts; exploration of broader articulation questions within state regarding inservice training of teachers. (Wyoming State Department of Education)

Mellon II (1986-88): Collaborative Programs to Attract Exceptional Persons into Teaching and and Enhance the Current Teaching Force

Alaska: Improvement of rural education by means of strong pre- and inservice education of teachers in applying education research. Funds were used to establish the Rural Alaska Instructional Improvement Academy in cooperation with the University of Alaska. (Alaska State Department of Education)

Colorado: Development of an organizational staff development—instructional improvement bridge between research on effective teaching and staff development using 13 pilot schools, in cooperation with the University of Northern Colorado and several education organizations in the state. (Colorado State Department of Education)

Florida: Attracting exceptional persons into teaching and improving the current teaching force. This project is under the direction of the Florida Institute of Education of the state university system. Four Miami-area high schools participated in the project. (Florida Institute of Education and Florida State Department of Education)

Georgia: A research component to identify types of individuals attracted to teaching, and follow and analyze the academic and career progress of these individuals. Teacher recruitment activities, including development of a videotape and a publication. Development of a comprehensive state recruitment plan, including efforts to change the image of teaching within the state and recruit non-traditional candidates and minorities. (Georgia State Department of Education)

Guam: Attracting talented teacher aides into teaching by implementing a collaborative program, involving teachers and university instructors, that provides professional teacher training for these aides, with the goal of developing an indigenous teaching force with a special emphasis on math and science. (Guam Department of Education)

Idaho: Strengthening recruitment of teachers and improving the current teaching force: 1) establishment of a statewide advisory council; 2) pilot efforts to improve the image of teaching and to recruit exceptional

secondary students into teaching; 3) promotion of a regional school-college consortium to collaborate on staff development; 4) a pilot teacher induction program; and 5) comprehensive evaluation of all joint school-university activities. (Idaho State Department of Education)

Indiana: Expansion of Project SET (Student Exploratory Teaching) for attracting exceptional persons into teaching at both the secondary and postsecondary levels and developing a course of study at both levels; development of a teacher recruitment campaign using the mass media. (Indiana State Department of Education)

Maryland: Project R.E.C.I.T.E.—a consortium representing higher education and elementary-secondary education to recruit high-quality non-traditional career candidates for subject areas in which there are critical shortages of teachers in Maryland, including math, science, languages, and special education. (Maryland State Department of Education)

Minnesota: A collaborative effort to develop teacher training materials based upon effective teaching research. This effort produced a research-based update for the Minnesota Educational Effectiveness Program, providing teachers with new research bases to enhance their teaching. (Minnesota State Department of Education)

Montana: 1) Through the Montana Educational Challenge Project, support of action groups to set the educational agenda for state funding in the 1990's; 2) establishment of a talent bank to provide resource persons to schools throughout the state; and 3) the Administrative Intern Project to place especially competent teachers who want to pursue school administration in a year-long internship with a mentor school administrator. (Montana State Board of Education and Montana State Office of Public Instruction)

New York: Support of teacher recruitment and training activities in several regions of the state, including Long Island, Hudson Valley, Central New York, and Western New York, as well as New York City . (New York State Education Department)

North Dakota: Facilitating the high school-college transition and encouraging students to enter teaching, bringing high school and college faculty together in the ten teaching centers in the state to collaborate in helping students in the transition. (North Dakota State Department of Public Instruction)

Utah: A collaborative activity involving the Utah State Office of Education, eight school districts, and Utah State University to provide a strong beginning teacher support system drawing upon university personnel and master teachers in Utah's career ladder program. (Utah State University and Utah State Office of Education)

Wisconsin: Establishment of a replicable collaborative model for attracting exceptional high school students into teaching, working with Marian College, Silver Lake College, and Plymouth High School, involving interviewing students interested in teaching and following their progress through teacher training. (Wisconsin State Department of Public Instruction)

Mellon III (1988-1990): Collaborative Programs for Recruitment and Training of Teacher in Areas of High Teacher Attrition.

Alaska: A collaboration of the State Department of Education, the Juneau School District, and the University of Alaska Southeast to implement comprehensive training for prospective, beginning, and experienced teachers on the special needs of at-risk pupils, particularly Native American and Eskimo youth. (Alaska State Department of Education)

Arizona: Enhanced training for rural teachers of at-risk Native American youth. A trainer-of-trainers monograph will be produced to encourage statewide replication of teaching strategies. (Arizona State Department of Education)

California: Dissemination of information about successful classroom and school-wide strategies that new and experienced teachers can use to provide appropriate instruction to at-risk youth. (California State Department of Education)

Colorado: Implementation of an induction program for first-year teachers in schools with high concentrations of at-risk pupils. The project will identify effective practices in the training of first-year teachers. (Colorado State Department of Education)

Florida: Development of a "hometown" consortium between a local school district and a university for the purpose of providing highly qualified secondary school teachers in Palm Beach County. (Florida Atlantic University and Florida State Department of Education)

Maine: A collaborative effort to develop appropriate retraining courses for all teaching staff focusing on the needs of at-risk youth at two target schools. (Maine State Department of Educational and Cultural Services)

Maryland: A consortium representing higher education and elementary-secondary education to address Maryland's teacher recruitment and retention needs, with emphasis on the need for teachers in certain regions of the state and in fields of critical shortage such as math and science, as well as the need for more minority representation in the teacher pool. (Maryland State Department of Education)

Missouri: Training of mentors to teachers and parents of high-risk children (3-5 years) in rural southwest Missouri. (Southwest Missouri State University and Missouri State Department of Elementary and Secondary Education)

Montana: A collaborative project of the Office of Public Instruction and two state colleges to better prepare Native American students to enter the teacher workforce. A second focus of the project will expand school guidance counseling services for underserved elementary school pupils. (Montana State Office of Public Instruction and State Board of Education)

New Jersey: Expansion of programs for teachers in urban districts, including hiring workshops, special preservice and inservice training, and followup morale and skills workshops. The State Department of Education and Princeton University will collaborate in this project. (New Jersey State Department of Education)

New York: Special training to first-year teachers in Rochester and New York City in adapting curriculum emphasizing multicultural understanding to the needs of at-risk students. The project involves Nazareth College and New York University. (New York State Education Department)

Oklahoma: Expansion of entry-year training for those teaching at-risk American Indian and black pupils in 25 school districts in rural Northeastern Oklahoma, in collaboration with Northeastern State University. (Oklahoma State Department of Education)

South Carolina: Establishment of an assistance program for beginning teachers in Orangeburg County schools through a summer institute and twice-a-month support sessions. (South Carolina State College and South Carolina State Department of Education)

Virginia: A project involving Virginia State University to improve teachers' skills in the areas of writing instruction and building self-esteem for at-risk students in the Petersburg Public Schools. (Virginia State Department of Education)

Incentive Grants (1983-1984)

Alabama: Support of a 20-member planning group in examining the feasibility of implementing major recommendations for promoting excellence in education in Alabama.

Arizona: Meetings of postsecondary and State Department of Education personnel to plan for teacher exchanges and team teaching among K-12 and postsecondary teachers; cooperation in research projects; and leadership in school improvement.

Arkansas: A convening of representatives and directors from the State Board of Education and the State Board of Higher Education to explore common concerns and ways of meeting the resolutions passed by the Joint Interim Committee of the Arkansas Legislative Council.

California: Expansion of the Mathematics Diagnostics Testing Project, a cooperative effort between the California State Department of Education and institutions of higher education.

Colorado: Enhancement of existing cooperative endeavors between higher education and K-12 in such areas as high school graduation requirements; skills that students should have for college entry; and teacher training, especially in math and science.

Connecticut: Formation of a Joint Committee on Educational Technology including members of the Connecticut State Department of Education and the Board of Governors for Higher Education. Issues included computer-assisted instruction, information retrieval and transfer, and data communications.

Delaware: Initiation of joint efforts among representatives of the Delaware Department of Public Instruction, local school districts, the University of Delaware, and other state institutions of higher education regarding the performance of public high school graduates.

Florida: Five meetings of the Florida Regional Coordinating Councils, where representatives of all public school districts and all public postsecondary institutions met to organize a concerted effort to improve their services to students.

Guam: Development of a comprehensive plan for a laboratory/demonstration school to showcase exemplary instructional practices; staff with master teachers; and pilot innovative programs.

Hawaii: Strengthening the working relationship between the Board of Education and the Board of Regents; identifying new directions; and tackling policy issues.

Indiana: A program to systematically communicate to students the relationship between what students do in high school and their success rate in college.

Iowa: Support of the Ad Hoc Committee from the State Advisory Committee in development work on new directions for teacher education and certification.

Kentucky: Support for regional conferences for idea-sharing, issue identification, and program development held by the Council on Higher Education and the Department of Education.

Louisiana: Followup meetings and workshops among representatives of higher education and K-12 education, based upon the Excellence Through Cooperation conference, to provide direction for unified school improvement activities and possible legislative changes.

Maryland: A series of seminars involving the Academic Division and the College of Education at the University of Maryland, and state and local curriculum and instructional planners, focusing on social studies, arts and humanities, and math and science.

Massachusetts: Organization of a network between the Department of Education and higher education to analyze potential areas for coordinated activities and set up operational goals. Development of a planning document to build an operational liaison between the Department of Education and the State Board of Regents of Higher Education.

Michigan: Support of the Mathematics and Science Study Committee (appointed by the Superintendent of Public Instruction) to identify pertinent issues and develop recommendations for improving instruction in the two disciplines, including the certification of teachers.

Mississippi: Three work meetings to bring together representatives of higher education and K-12 to monitor and approve teacher training programs, and address related issues.

Montana: Support of a day-long meeting with 20 colleges and other organizations, focusing on how the on-site accreditation review process can maximize ties between K-12 and postsecondary education.

Nevada: Publication of the findings of the Joint Council on College Preparation for statewide dissemination, *Making School Count*.

New Hampshire: Convening a representative group of 25-30 educators from K-12 and postsecondary education to address teacher certification in science and math.

New Jersey: Promotion of joint efforts among Bell Laboratories, the Department of Education, the New Jersey Business and Industry Association, and Rutgers University regarding the training of students entering high-tech jobs.

New York: Recruitment of a representative group of educators to define strategies to mobilize colleges and universities to improve teacher capabilities in the state's elementary and secondary schools.

North Carolina: Implementation of the Quality Assurance Program adopted by the Board of Education to strengthen the teacher induction process.

North Dakota: Establishment of a committee of educators representing postsecondary and K-12 to increase communication and articulation among the various segments of education.

Northern Mariana Islands: Initiation of cooperative efforts between the Department of Education and the Northern Mariana College, the only institution for higher education in the Commonwealth, to develop improved language arts instruction.

Oklahoma: Development of competencies for grades 9-12 to encompass the skills necessary for students entering colleges and universities, based on guidelines developed by a joint committee comprised of higher education and K-12 representatives.

Pennsylvania: Design of a collaborative, interactive partnership among higher education institutions and K-12 districts.

Puerto Rico: A 5-day seminar/workshop for K-12 and postsecondary educators to address specific aspects in teacher preparation curriculum and make recommendations to decision-making personnel at postsecondary institutions.

Rhode Island: Implementation of four basic regulations established by the Joint Committee on School and College Articulation to improve communication between K-12 and postsecondary education, especially in the area of curriculum coordination; improve high school academic preparation for college-bound students; strengthen skills and proficiencies of all high school students; and increase students' options for the transition from high school to college.

South Carolina: Regional meetings, planned and conducted by the State Department of Education and the Commission on Higher Education, to revise the graduation requirements and involve appropriate groups in dialogue.

Tennessee: Development of communications linkages between the Department of Education and postsecondary education for articulating educational needs and enhancing collaboration; development of feedback mechanisms to improve teacher preparation programs and staff development.

Texas: Plans for initiatives to strengthen the basic skills of prospective teacher education candidates, with the cooperation of the state's postsecondary institutions, and with a special emphasis on the developmental and remedial needs of minority students.

Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands: Establishment of a task force made up of a representative from the national student service office, the State of Ponape Student Services Office, a Ponape high school counselor, elementary principals, and representatives from the Community College of Micronesia to develop a student orientation program and a computerized data system to track high school and college students.

Utah: A forum of elementary/secondary and postsecondary education leaders to address the issue of teacher competency in order to reform teacher education.

Vermont: Implementation of the Pre-Technical Education Project to coordinate pre-technical/vocational and postsecondary services to rural high school students. Plans were made for two 13th year technical programs at area vocational centers under the joint sponsorship of the vocational centers and two postsecondary institutions.

Virginia: Development of an instrument to determine regional needs in articulation; circulation of a newsletter on collaboration; and initial training for school division personnel in areas such as characteristics of adult learners, effective professional development programs, and project evaluation.

Washington: Research of specific variables related to the projected supply of teachers over the next 15 years; an initial study and recommendations for educators' standards such as university program admission, curriculum content, completion requirements, and state certification.

Wisconsin: A two-day symposium on expanding collaboration between the University of Wisconsin system and the Department of Public Instruction.

Appendix B

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